CANADIAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY

A Quarterly of Christian Thought

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Editorial

PROFESSOR AND PASTOR

IN a review in the April issue of *Theology Today* on H. Shelton Smith's book *Changing conceptions of Original Sin* the reviewer, Winthrop S. Hudson, drew attention to the fact that "until recently serious theological discussion was carried on overwhelmingly by men who were actively engaged in the pastorate," who "far over-shadowed the occupants of professorial chairs" but that this is no longer so. It would now appear, he claims, that professors have come to dominate more and more the theological scene. This fact, unfortunately, can be verified from the pages of this Journal. It was, and is, the hope of the Editorial Committee of the Canadian Journal of Theology that the Journal would prove to be a forum for theological discussion in Canada by all those concerned for a right interpretation and proclamation of the Gospel. However it is now becoming clear that this discussion is tending to be a purely private affair among the professors. The preachers and pastors of Canada seem to be content merely to listen in. Our subscription lists indicate that they form the major part of our constituency. But like the people of England in Chesterton's poem "they have not spoken yet."

This is, as indicated above, unfortunate. The work in a congregation is the area where the theology of the Church is tested. It is the battle field where the adequacy or inadequacy of the Church's interpretation of the Word is settled. But more than that. It ought also to be the area where a major contribution to the formulation of the Church's theology is made. We need not in this matter become involved in the arid debate between the contrasting contributions of pastors and professors. They are equally ministers of the Word and Sacraments and both are in the active ministry. They are also both dependent on each other. This is so to an extent which may not always be realised by the pastor. He is aware, of course, of his debt to the men who trained him for his specialised and difficult work. He is, however, inclined to forget that the professors look to him for first-hand reports on how the theological battle is going from the field where the Christian troops are in personal contact with the enemy.

Every pastor, of course, is aware of the difficulties involved here. The battle, he finds, is so involved and demanding that he can set aside little time to sit down to write "situation reports." The task of ministering to a congregation today demands much more than it once did. The pastor soon discovers that he has to be not only a preacher of the Word and a shepherd of souls, he also has to be an administrator, organiser, educator and public relations expert. In the very multiplicity of the tasks however, there is involved not only frustration for the individual in being able to do none of

them adequately, but also serious theological loss for the Church. When theology becomes isolated from the on-going life of the Church, as that life is found both in the slums and suburbs of the cities and in the country parishes, it tends to lose the existential quality which it ought ever to possess and manifest.

This, then, is a plea that the pastor take his share in the forum of theological discussion which it is the aim of this Journal to further. Many things are happening in the life of the Church today which raise not only questions of technique but also profound theological issues. The tragedy is that too often they are viewed only on the practical level. Thus:

(*a*) In Canada today there is a vast amount of church building going on, much of it in "the contemporary style." Who will examine the implications of such architecture not merely on the level of a building adapted from the point of view of the multifarious activities of a modern congregation but also from the point of view of the theology that ought to underlie it? For too often the odd things which masquerade as churches today are but a revelation of the fact that they were conceived and brought to birth without benefit of a sound and adequate theology.

(*b*) Today there is also a developing interest in worship and the use of liturgical formulae. Far too often, however, this interest has behind it no more than a desire for more ceremonial and issues in what the minister thinks will be "nice." Does this tendency also not need theological examination?

(*c*) Increasingly at present ministers are becoming interested in pastoral counselling. Who is to discern here what is psychology dressed up in the garb of religion, and what is the real contribution which a true "cure of souls" has to make? No decision can be arrived at in this matter apart from a critical theological examination.

There are other interests which daily hold the attention of the pastor—preaching, education, fund-raising, administration. It is important that they all be viewed on a level other than the expedient. They all raise theological questions and demand theological answers. This Journal looks to the pastors—who are the men on the spot, literally and figuratively—to make their contribution to the essential theological conversation which must be maintained if the Church, both in college and parish, is to make an adequate witness to Christ both as Truth and Life.

W. M. K.

The Significance of the Mystery of Israel for the Church

E. FLESSEMAN-VAN LEER

THE phrase "mystery of Israel" presupposes a particular point of view. It implies in the first place some kind of continuity between the Israel of which the Scriptures speak and the Jews of today: the wealthy Jews of America; the Jews who fight fanatically for a small Middle Eastern country, so difficult to cultivate; the tens of thousands of Jews exterminated in German gas chambers; the Jews who live in our midst. Yet the continuity is far from self-evident. From early times the Church has acted as though the Israel of the Scriptures ceased to exist with the destruction of the Temple and the scattering of the remaining Jews. That they continue to exist in dispersion is regarded as an anomaly without particular religious significance.

The second presupposition is that there really is a *mystery* about Israel, about the Jews, and that this mystery is of the utmost significance for the Church. This presupposition is no more self-evident than the former one, because it is possible to explain the Jewish phenomenon in ways that leave no mystery. Many learned books have been written to prove that the Jews are a specific race with special marks and characteristics. Most people are convinced that the Jews can be defined and explained satisfactorily in biological terms. Yet it is a highly significant fact that no one has succeeded in finding out this seemingly obvious biological definition. The failure is all the more remarkable in view of the amount of time and energy devoted to the attempt, especially by the Nazis.

Another explanation is the so-called socio-economic one. Some hold that the particularity of the Jews, originally occasioned by their nationality and religion, has been perpetuated and preserved by social and economic circumstances and laws. The Jews were compelled to remain a separate entity and accordingly developed distinctive traits. These traits accentuated their separateness and prevented their losing their identity among the peoples with whom they lived. This explanation interprets the strange phenomenon of anti-semitism as basically an economically-conditioned attitude.

Still another explanation is sometimes put forward. It is the commonly used religious explanation. The Jews, it is maintained, are those who hold doggedly to a literalistic and mistaken interpretation of the Old Testament. The Jews are those who deny the Christ. But such an explanation does not account for Jews who no longer espouse the Jewish religion and yet remain Jews. Since they are not Christians, the suggested explanation touches only what they have in common with the majority of mankind. Their particularity remains unaccounted for.

It is not surprising that some have reached the conclusion that the Jew, as such, does not exist at all. This is the conclusion of Jean-Paul Sartre's stimulating book, *Réflexions sur la Question Juive (1947)*. His thesis is that the anti-semitic world makes and preserves the "Jew." The Jew is a projection of other people's minds. The Jew is explained in a psychological way and fundamentally explained away. Many philo-semites, many humanists and even many Jews indulge in similar though less ingenious explanations. The Jew is not different from other people. If a Jewish problem exists, it is a product only of the perverse stupidity of others. This opinion is held by the greater part of Christendom. One need only recall, by way of illustration, the point of view and, I would add, the misunderstanding shown by the American churches when the question of Israel was raised at Evanston (ignoring for the moment the political implications which also played a role).

It is not possible to prove that these various explanations or rationalizations are simply mistaken. They may be valid enough in their own realm. To maintain that they do not provide the fundamental explanation, that is, explain the total phenomenon, is to make a judgment which cannot be considered objective, and to speak of the "mystery of Israel" might be considered fundamentalist and obscurantist. Despite this charge I believe that one must be obedient to Scripture. If I venture to speak of the mystery of Israel as related to the Jewish problem and to expect a fundamental answer to the question in the Old and New Testaments, I am conscious that ultimately the question and its answer cannot be demonstrated rationally. They must be based on faith.

The Old Testament answers the question about the origin of the people of Israel clearly and unambiguously. Out of all the nations God set apart a people to be used for His work. It was God's act that made them a nation. God chose this people and made a covenant with them, having willed to use this particular group. Election in both Testaments means that God chooses to use a man or a group of men for His work and for the sake of others. God's revelation of Himself to this people, His acting in and through it, the salvation He gives it, is revelation and salvation for the whole world including those who were not chosen. It is a complete mistake to set the so-called particularism of the Old Testament against the universalism of the New. God's saving will is universal and concerns all men and nations, but His will works through particular election; through the particular election of Israel for the sake of the Gentiles; the election of particular individuals out of Israel for the sake of the whole Israel; the election of Jesus Christ for the sake of all men; the election of the Church for the sake of the world. In each particular election God's will for the non-elect others is revealed. The word to Abraham ran: "In thee shall all families of the earth be blessed" (Genesis 12:3). The prophetic word was:

It shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the

hills; and all nations shall flow unto it . . . for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people: and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more [Isaiah 2:2 ff].

This is the scarlet thread that runs through the whole of the Old Testament. Of His free grace, God chose Israel to be a medium of revelation for others and the exemplar of God's saving will and faithfulness.

The Gospels manifest this scarlet thread with even greater clarity. The promise that salvation will come through Israel to the Gentiles, to those who are not-Israel, seems fulfilled in Jesus Christ. Israel is still the elect nation. Jesus Christ comes to Israel in order that He may come through Israel to others. Even without a detailed examination of the biblical texts it is evident that Jesus came in the first instance to the Jews. This does not mean simply that He worked among them in their geographical area or that he spoke first to them in the order of time, but that his mission was in the first place exclusively to them: "I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Matthew 15:24). The disciples are in the beginning told explicitly not to go to the Gentiles: "Go not unto the way of the Gentiles, and into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not: but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Matthew 10:5, 6). But then the unforeseen and incomprehensible happened: Israel rejected its Messiah. Jesus came that the Gentiles might take part in Israel's salvation, but the Jews to whom it belonged in the first place, repudiated this salvation, and excluded themselves from it. This is clear even before the death of Jesus. "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathers her chickens under her wings, but ye would not! Behold, your house is left unto you desolate." But this word of exclusion is not the last word. The promise is still to be heard beneath the words of judgment: "I say unto you, Ye shall not see me henceforth, till ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord" (Matthew 23:37–39).

After the death of Jesus we find the same pattern. Salvation is preached first to the Jews. The Gentiles participate in it as well, because in Christ the wall of partition between Jews and non-Jews has been broken down. But the apostles work primarily among the Jews, because salvation is first to them, though it is also to the Greek. The Gentiles have been added. They are now permitted to join in (Ephes. 2:12). It is apparent that the apostles still expected and hoped that even at that point the Jews would accept their crucified Messiah. They did not think that the Jews had become exceptionally guilty or that they were especially wicked by reason of their responsibility for the death of Jesus. They were too deeply convinced that the Christ *had* to suffer. In the eyes of Paul, the great guilt of the Jews is not that they crucified the Lord, but that after the resurrection they would not accept Him as the Christ.

It is important to extend this thought more fully. The so-called guilt of the crucifixion has played an ugly role in history, and has caused a great deal of suffering. How often Christian anti-semitism has found self-justification in the text: "His blood be on us and on our children" (Matthew 27:25). Books are still written with a view to determining who was responsible for the crucifixion. It is quite true that Jesus was crucified by the Jews, who were the only men of that time who knew the true God, and were, humanly speaking, the most pious. Here man at his very best rejected the overture of God. This has been said and written by countless theologians. We give expression to it in our hymns and repeat it in our confessions of guilt. How then can Christians continue to talk about the guilt of the crucifixion as they do? In this respect, the Jews were not especially guilty. Moses Mendelssohn, a great Jew in Germany in the 18th century, once said that he could not feel himself responsible for the just or unjust judgments passed by his forefathers centuries ago in Jerusalem. He was quite right, because the decision for or against the Christ has to be made in the present time.

This is exactly the problem with which Paul wrestled. How was it possible after the resurrection for the Jews to reject Jesus as the Christ? In view of what Paul has said in the Epistle to the Romans, chapters nine to eleven, the comfortableness of the Church in the face of this problem is almost inexplicable. Where Paul saw a burning question, a mystery of God, the Church has taken refuge in pseudo-solutions. The only people who were really consistent were the Gnostics of former times and the "German Christians" of Hitler's era. Both groups consistently and openly rejected the Old Testament and therewith the whole biblical order of salvation. The church has managed to do the same, without the same rigorous consistency and openness. Of course, the church has recognized the Old Testament and the special place which Israel has in that covenant, but it has dismissed the possibility that this special place has any validity beyond the time of Jesus. It is assumed that the role of Israel has ended and been transferred to the church as the new, spiritual Israel, or that Israel's role after the crucifixion is to be the symbol of rejection and of God's punishment. But this assumption can be made only by those who either do not take Paul seriously or else spiritualize his words so much that they become harmless. Paul did not believe that the church was simply substituted for Old Testament Israel, else there would have been no problem for him. All that would have remained for him to understand would have been how it was possible for the elect, to whom the promise was made, to be rejected. On the contrary, Paul is absolutely certain that against all the appearances of his time, God did not, even in the moment of radical unbelief, cast away the people whom He had chosen from the beginning as His own (11:2). Even in disobedience they remain an elect people, "for the gifts and calling of God are without repentance" (11:29).

We have observed that election is always election for the sake of others. This character Israel does not lose even in disobedience. In its stumbling,

it is still there for the sake of others (11:11). This is the mystery of Israel, that through its fall salvation is come to the Gentiles. When the goal has once been reached, when the Gentiles in their fulness shall have come in, then Israel too will return to God and all Israel shall be saved (11:26). This is not meant as an explanation of the disobedience and unbelief of Israel. Man's *No!* to God, as Karl Barth has said, is always incomprehensible, the impossible possibility. Or as Franz Werfel has said so movingly, it is not that God wills this people to be disobedient to ensure their playing a villainous role, or that the providence of God condemns them to reject Him in order that the world may be saved (*Zwischen Oben und Unten*, p. 284). The enigma of the sin of Israel remains. But Paul knows that God will use disobedience not less than obedience in His design. By the wrong that Israel does, God will work good. Therefore Paul concludes this part of his Epistle with an exultant song of praise and thanksgiving for the mercy and wisdom of God (11:33 ff.).

We live in the same age as Paul. What was true for him remains true for us. We are hereby justified in extending the line he has drawn into our own times. Today, *post Christum*, the chosen Israel still exists, or more concretely, the Jews of our day constitute that Israel for which Paul had great heaviness and continual sorrow in his heart (9:2). The reason why there are still Jews, after many years in dispersion, is that they are chosen and have a special place in God's design. This is why it is impossible to supply a rational definition of what a Jew is. A Jew is one who belongs to this chosen people. What makes a Jew a Jew is God's election. It is a *character indelibilis* belonging to all Jews, orthodox, assimilated and Zionist Jews, for all live in the same disobedience to God in not recognizing Him in the Son, and God keeps His faithfulness towards all. For this reason, total assimilation cannot succeed. Individuals can be absorbed in the nations and individuals can as a pledge of Israel's final salvation proleptically fulfil its destiny by acknowledging its Messiah (11:1). But the Jews as a whole remain the hardened and disobedient Israel, the unfaithful with whom God keeps faith. Israel still is what it was in the Old Testament—exemplary revelation for the nations. The Jews in our midst are the living sign that God's grace is greater than human disobedience. Man tried to run away and time and again seems to succeed in doing so, but God keeps him and wants him, even if he does not want God.

Here perhaps we have an explanation of anti-semitism. Just as the phenomenon of the Jews has a mystical and even an irrational character, so also has anti-semitism. It is, for example, quite incredible that thousands of decent, rational people in our time believe the nonsense that Jews slaughter little children for their paschal meal, or the ridiculous tale of the international conspiracy of "the Wise Men of Zion." May it be that the anti-semitism of us all—for none, not even the Jew himself, is entirely free from it—is essentially a revolt against the sign which Israel is, the sign of disobedient man and the free, sovereign grace of God? If we adopt this

suggestion, we must be careful not to transgress the bounds set by the Scriptures. It is transgression to attempt, as Werfel does, to *explain* the disobedience of the Jews or to attempt to explain the sufferings of the Jews. To believe that the latter are due to the punishment of God is to transgress, even if at the same time we hold that this punishment is a form of God's faithfulness whereby He tries to bring the Jews back to Himself. For to make a one-to-one relationship between suffering and punishment for sin is to be guilty of a theodicy already repudiated in the Book of Job and explicitly rejected by Jesus's answer to the question of the disciples concerning the man blind from his birth (John 9:1). The New Testament mentions only the hardening of the heart and the destruction of Jerusalem as punishment, and nothing else. There is, it is true, a close connection between sin and the suffering of the Jews—the persecutions, pogroms, gas chambers and displaced person camps but this connection is not Golgotha. It is the sin of others, non-Jews, and we can only hope and pray that God will forgive even this guilt and use it in His design. Rufus Learsi's book, *Israel: the History of the Jewish People,* makes the Christian reader feel deeply the tremendous guilt the Christian churches have incurred.

The Jews in our midst are also the visible sign of the "not-yet." The Church of Rome is not the only church which tends to forget that the church here and now is something provisional. *Our* church also lives in the time between the times, in the time in which we live not yet by sight but by promise. The visible pledge of this promise is the Jews. *All* Israel shall be saved. The Jews do not acknowledge Jesus as the Christ, but in faith we know that when He returns in glory, they will recognize and accept Him. Israel exists both as a sign to us that we still await the fulfilment, and as a guarantee that the end of history will be the end disposed by God.

I believe that this understanding of the mystery of Israel has very great theological and practical implications for the Church. A full elaboration of them is impossible, not only for want of space in this article, but also because the Church has only begun in the last decade to think out the problems posed by a more scriptural understanding of Israel. At the moment there are many more questions than solutions. The situation could hardly be otherwise seeing that Israel in its existence *vis-à-vis* the Church has been forgotten by the Church. The ministry of Paul, as the apostle to the Gentiles, was entirely aimed at the Jews for the purpose of provoking them to emulation (Rom. 11:14). If the Church is elect, it is so for the sake of others, for those who are not yet the Church, and that means in the first place for Israel. One could say that in all that it is and does the Church is a continuing mission to the Jews. This does not mean that it should try more intensively than heretofore to convert the Jews, in the ordinary sense of the word "convert." It does not even mean that the first task of the Church is to fight anti-semitism, important though this fight be. Rather, it must re-think its entire theology in the light of its understanding of the mystery of Israel. In all its thinking and acting it must take Israel seriously, not as disobedient Israel but

as elect Israel. It has to give an account of its doctrines to Israel, whether the latter will listen or not.

In the first place, a new and better understanding of the Old Testament is necessary. It has never been taken with sufficient seriousness by the Church from sub-Apostolic times. While in theory it has rejected the heresies of Marcion and the Gnostics, it has neutralized the Old Testament in a different way. None of the Church Fathers really understood the mystery of Israel and therefore could not have an adequate understanding of the Old Testament as a whole. It is true that they read and interpreted it industriously, for they acknowledged its authority for them, but they spiritualized it by way of the allegorical method and thereby falsified it. They were anxious to preserve its spiritual and eternal meaning, but they had no real understanding of the revelation of God in the concrete history of Israel. Even today it is generally assumed that the Old Testament is inferior in significance to the New. It is regarded as merely provisional and preparatory revelation of which the New Testament is the fulfilment. Why then do we lack the courage to carry forward the logical implications of this assumption? If the assumption is valid, does it not mean that the Old Testament is really of no importance now, not because we reject it, as did Marcion and the Gnostics, but because it is not necessary? Does this conclusion not follow, if the Old Testament expresses the same ideas as the New Testament, only less clearly and less recognizably? As if it were a question of ideas in Scripture!

Our task is to re-learn the Old Testament and to think in a Jewish way. But to do that is to throw into jeopardy the whole scheme whereby we set the New Testament over against the Old. It ceases to be possible to play off the Law against the Gospel, the wrath of God against His mercy, the Old Covenant against the New Covenant, the Old Israel against the New Israel. It becomes necessary to emphasize more clearly that the covenant with Israel is a covenant of grace, and that in that covenant God says to the Jew that He wants him and He wants to be his God, his Thou. Is that not the same Gospel which comes to us in Jesus Christ? If the covenant is so understood, does not the Jewish Law stand in a new and more certain light? It becomes possible to see that in the Law God's covenant with Israel is made concrete in history. We begin to understand how the Jew can thank God for the gift of the Law. For the law is grace and proof that God does not leave man alone in his ordinary daily life.

Considering the mystery of Israel and all that it represents, it becomes necessary to question whether the doctrine of the atonement is customarily presented in an adequate way. Is not Jesus Christ and His cross the full and luminous disclosure of precisely that election of man of which Israel is sign and witness? In both events stands the same God, as the doctrine of the immanent Trinity ensures our saying. If that is so, how can we speak as if Jesus Christ in His love reconciled a wrathful and righteous God? We ought also to be more careful of the way in which we speak of Jesus Christ

as God. Is not the Jew partly right when he accuses us of a hidden ditheism? Jesus pointed the way from Himself to God Whom He revealed in the entirety of His being and words. But too often we place Jesus Christ beside the Father in such a way that the Son obscures the Father, and the former becomes, at least in our devotion and piety if not in our theology, a second and more important God. We must say more clearly and less ambiguously than before that in Jesus Christ we adore no other God than the one God of Israel.

Further, since the Law is concerned with grace made concrete in daily historical life, does it not throw much clearer light upon our world than is customarily realised in our Christianity? Have we, perhaps, followed Augustine too closely with his *deum et animam scire cupio* and neglected daily life, here and now, through excessive preoccupation with the salvation of our souls? Throughout Scripture, throughout the New Testament, but especially throughout the Old Testament, faith in a hereafter which is content with heaven is discountenanced. Any attempt to flee into eternal blessedness by leaping over the historical world and temporal existence is rejected. The Old Testament is concerned with God's kingship over the world and this concern is a fundamental concern for justice, including social justice. If this truth is really thought out, we shall be in a much better position to appreciate the significance of the kingly office of Christ, the thought of which is now so often vague and without content.

These questions represent only a few of those with which we are faced in confrontation with Israel. They could be multiplied many times, for there is no theological doctrine which is not in some way affected by our understanding of Israel and the Old Testament. A decided re-orientation in this respect is certainly due. May it not be that the Church has presented Israel with a version of Christianity which Israel as Israel could not possibly accept? It may be that an affirmative response to the Gospel on the part of the Jews has been lacking not only because of "hardness of heart" but also because they have been unable to recognize the Torah in the Christian presentation of the Old Testament, or the Messiah in the Christ presented by the Church. Jesus Christ is in Himself so great a stumbling block that Christians should not put unnecessary obstacles to an acceptance of Him in the way of the Jew.

Finally, here are a few practical suggestions as to what the Church today should do in regard to the Jew. What is needed most of all is understanding of him. He is not to be viewed as an object, but to be taken seriously as a human being, as our neighbour. We must try to penetrate and understand something of the problematic situation in which every Jew in a non-Jewish world is caught, even though he may scarcely be conscious of it himself. I speak now of the situation resulting from the emancipation of the Jews, of the ambiguity in which every Jew, at least every non-religious Jew, lives. On the one hand, he longs to disappear and to become as others, to lose his Jewish identity. On the other hand, he has a deep-rooted feeling of

solidarity with Jewry, an almost irrational sense of belonging to it. It may be only a partly conscious adherence, even when it has lost all positive content for him. The Church must be conversant with this problematic situation when it meets and talks with the Jew. While the assimilated and secularized Jew wants to be addressed simply as a human being and not as a Jew, and while he thinks it ridiculous if one tries to argue with him or to convert him on the basis of the Old Testament, he cannot even envisage the possibility of his personal adherence to Christianity, because his Jewish consciousness is far too strong for that. The Jew in general is not hostile towards the Church. He often feels a kind of sympathy for it, but for himself the possibility of becoming a Christian is ruled out. He can have a high regard for the non-Jewish believing Christian, but the Jew who becomes a Christian and is baptized is in his eyes a deserter. If indeed the church lives in order to provoke the Jews to envy and to bring them to Christ, it may well be that the best and most biblical way of doing that is not to carry out a mission among the Jews, at least not at the moment. It may be that non-Jews, including Christians, have become so guilty towards Israel and stand before it with such unclean hands, that for quite some time they cannot expect to be listened to.

In this respect the Church must clear away all unnecessary obstacles, beginning with anti-semitism. The Church has to fight it not only on humanitarian grounds, but also in order that the Church may remain the Church. The first requirement is not merely that the Church pronounce judgment on anti-semitism, necessary though this judgment is. Its first task is to fight in its own teaching and preaching its hidden "Christian" anti-semitism. In doing this it cannot be too watchful. Jews can detect it much more easily than non-Jews. We must be particularly careful in our Sunday Schools. Many children after instruction in Sunday School for several years do not realize that *Israelite*, a name they know from their religious teaching, is the same as *Jew*, a name horribly coloured through the usage of their school-friends. What is said in teaching and sermons about the Pharisee is often more caricature than reality. Learned scientific works on the subject are of little avail since they do not reach the congregation or even the ordinary minister. Our teaching about the Crucifixion and the guilt of the Jews is often of a kind that engenders a pious anti-semitism. The time has now come for the Church to cast off this arrogance, and to go beyond merely confessing that there is room in the Church for the Jew as well as the Gentile. In reality the situation is the other way around. There is not only room for the Jew, but for the non-Jew as well. Israel belongs there in the first place, and others may participate with Israel. Perhaps it would be wise to refrain from calling the Church by the names, "the true Israel" or "the spiritual Israel," which are not biblical in any case.

I know that all that has been said is preliminary and sketchy. The latter part of the essay provides a few examples of the practical implications of the mystery of Israel for the Church. The entire thought and practice of

the Church ought to be re-considered. As long as Israel is seen as if existing side by side with the Church, everything in the Church is made questionable. Indeed, we should allow everything, even Christianity itself, to be subjected to this questioning, because it could be that the Church as it exists at present, more Greek-pagan than Jewish, makes it impossible for the Jews to recognize in the Lord of our Church the Messiah of Israel. The fulfilment of the greatest promise lies in the confrontation of the Church with Israel, because the salvation of all Israel is intimately connected with the manifestation of the Kingdom of God.

The Christian Interpretation of History

J. M. SHAW

I

THE general ethnic view of history is usually referred to as the cyclical or circular view. It represents history as a circle or wheel, the same general cycle of events recurring again and again at the end of long periods of time, the world thus returning periodically to the same original state.

Such is the view of history we find prevalent in ancient classical literature, both Greek and Roman. In Greek literature it finds expression chiefly in the writings of Plato and Aristotle, and during the later classical period it finds more definite and dogmatic expression in the writings of the Stoics, especially Marcus Aurelius. It is a view of history we find clearly present in the thought of ancient Babylonia and ancient Egypt before it appeared in Greece and Rome. It probably came to Greece and then to Rome by way of Babylonia, although it is found also in Indian thought, Hindu and Buddhist, before making its first appearance among the Greeks. As it appeared in Greek literature it was a view of history determined by and based on preconceived philosophical principles, in particular on certain views of the nature of Reality. For Greek thought Reality consisted in that which is and abides eternally the same, the realm of unchanging Being as contrasted with the realm of Becoming. As for the realm of Becoming, the world of process and change, that was of no more significance for the student of Reality than the dance of shadows cast by flickering firelight on the walls of a cave. This is how Plato puts this point in his *Phaedo*: "When the soul is dragged by the body (and the bodily senses) into the region of the changeable, she wanders and is confused; the world spins round her, and she is like a drunkard when she touches change. But when retiring into herself, she reflects, then she passes into the world of certainty and unchangeableness . . . and being in communion with the unchanging is unchanging. And this state of the soul is called wisdom."[1]

For such a view, it is evident, history and the time process can have little significance. For history is the sphere of the changeable and contingent. It is concerned not with abiding reality but with events that come to be and then cease to be. History is change, while Being, true Being, is unchanging and eternal. The world of change and becoming is real only in so far as it participates in the unchanging world through a cycle of changeless recurrence. It is a profoundly pessimistic view of history, this cyclical or circular view. If all that can happen is the constant repetition of a cycle of events, there is no possible meaning in the cycle itself; it achieves nothing, it leads

1. Op. cit., Phaedo §79 (Jowett's translation, *The Dialogues of Plato*, Vol. II, p. 222).

to nothing. Such a view excludes the emergence of anything new in history, and so is the negation of progress. "Nothing new happens in the universe if we consider the infinite time past," declared Epictetus, expressing the general Stoic view. "The rational soul" wrote Marcus Aurelius "traverses the whole universe and the encompassing void . . . it reaches out also into the infinity of time, comprehends the periodic regeneration of all things, and realizes that our children will see nothing new, just as our fathers saw nothing different; so that in a sense the man of forty years of age, if he has any sense at all, has, in view of this sameness of things, seen all that has been or ever shall be."[2]

II

Over against this general ethnic pessimistic view of history we have the Hebrew view, represented in the Old Testament; a view filled with hope inasmuch as it looks upon history as a meaningful significant process leading to a great cosmic consummation or culmination, usually referred to as the coming of "The Kingdom of God." Only among the Hebrews and in Hebrew prophetic thought is such a representation of history found, with the possible exception of the representation in the Zend—Avesta, the sacred writings of Zoroastrianism, which some scholars claim influenced Hebrew thought during the period of the Exile. With this exception only in Hebrew thought do we find the conception of history as a significant process leading to a great Divine consummation. And wherever history is thought of in this way, as having a definite direction, and a definite goal, with a consequent emphasis on the value of the time process, there the influence, direct or indirect, of Old Testament Hebrew thought and Hebrew revelation may be traced.

Whence arose, we must ask, this Hebrew view of history with the value it assigns to the time process as a progressive fulfilment of a great end or purpose? The answer is that it was the outcome of, and bound up with, the belief that God was not a static changeless Reality, as in Greek and Indian views, but a dynamic, active God revealing Himself through mighty acts or events in history. He was called "the living God," and was conceived not as mere Thought or Reason but as Purposive Will. The general Hebrew representation was this: God had initiated the process of history by a uniquely creative act. He created the physical universe, and then made man in His own image to cooperate with Him in the realization of His creative purposes. Through man's misuse of his free will evil intruded itself into the world. But God, the living God, acted decisively in a redemptive way to make for Himself a people through whose history this redemptive purpose might be fulfilled. The particular event in which this redemptive activity of God was primarily recognized was the deliverance of the enslaved Hebrews from bondage in Egypt, and their call to be the instrument of a

2. *Meditations*, xi, 1 (quoted in John Baillie's *The Belief in Progress*, pp. 48 f.).

Divine redemptive purpose, as effected and interpreted through the prophetic figure of Moses.

The determining significance of this Exodus experience of redemption or deliverance for the Hebrew conception of history, and of God's action in history, is indicated by the fact that time and again the name given to God, the God of Israel's history, is "the Lord God who brought them up out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage." At the centre of Hebrew national life was a great hope begotten of this initial redemptive action of God in their history, a hope often seemingly frustrated and brought to nought, but still wistfully clung to, even when disaster time and again overtook the nation. It was the hope of the coming of a great Divine Saviour or Deliverer and of a new age and Kingdom—usually referred to as "the Messianic hope"—a hope which was variously depicted by different prophetic thinkers in accordance with the different conditions under which they lived. Two main types of this Messianic hope were entertained, the Davidic and the Apocalyptic types. The former of them, and the older, envisaged the Messianic Kingdom in political terms as a restored national autonomy under the leadership of a prince of the Davidic line. But with the reduction of the nation to a state of political vassalage from which there seemed little promise of escape, the hope of national political restoration was abandoned and hope was found in a catastrophic Divine intervention, in the advent of a Deliverer from heaven suddenly to descend with supernatural power to destroy all their enemies and establish upon a renovated earth the righteous rule of God. But however it was conceived, this hope in a coming future deliverance lay at the centre of Hebrew thought, a hope based on the conception and consciousness of a Creative Directive Sovereign Power working through and over all for redemptive ends.

III

Now it was to this hope and the Hebrew conception of history as a progressive movement towards a great end that Christian thought attached itself. But between the two, between the Hebrew and the Christian view there is a great, a radical difference. The difference consisted fundamentally in this, that the new age, the Messianic age, of which Hebrew prophets and Jewish apocalyptists had spoken was now represented as not any more in the future but as having actually arrived with the coming of Jesus Christ. As a recent writer has expressed it: "The future tense of the Old Testament has now (in the New Testament) become an emphatic present."[3] The promised age has dawned, the time of fulfilment has come. Such was the proclamation of Jesus' first followers. "We have found him of whom Moses in the law, and also the prophets wrote" (John 1:45). And such, according to the Gospel records, was the declaration of Jesus Himself. His earliest public utterance, as recorded in the first chapter of the earliest

3. John Bright, *The Kingdom of God*, p. 216.

Gospel, was this: "The time is fulfilled, and the Kingdom of God is at hand" (Mk. 1:15); "at hand" not merely in the sense that it is near but, as the writer just referred to, has, we think, properly indicated, following C. H. Dodd and other New Testament scholars, in the sense that it is "right here."[4] In the presence and work of Jesus the Kingdom of God has come, and the promises of the Old Testament have been fulfilled.

The fulfilment that took place in Jesus was, indeed, a fulfilment very different from that expected generally by His fellow countrymen, the Jews —so different that they ultimately rejected Him and had Him done to death. It did not satisfy those who expected a Messiah of a national or political kind, a Messiah who would lead them in their struggle for deliverance from their oppressors and set himself up as ruler of an earthly Kingdom. Neither did it satisfy the expectations of those Jews who entertained the apocalyptic hope of a sudden intervention of God on the clouds of Heaven on their behalf. As against both representations He presented Himself as fulfilling the Messianic hope of Israel by taking on Him the form of a servant after the pattern represented in the prophecy of the Suffering Servant of God in the Second Isaiah, and through a life of service and sacrificial obedience to God, even to the length of death, bringing in the Kingdom and reign of God on earth. Through His life of sacrificial service of God and His fellowmen, culminating in His Cross and Resurrection, He represented the promised age of God's redemption as being inaugurated or brought in, the great Divine Event to which all previous history had been moving. This was the great Kerygma, the Evangel which the first Christian evangelists and missionaries were called to proclaim—the good news that by the gracious working of God a new era had dawned in human history which gave promise, not only of individual salvation, but of the complete renewal of life in all its relationships, communal and social. So the Gospel of primitive Christianity was the Gospel of what has been called a "realized" as opposed to a mere "futurist" eschatology. As C. H. Dodd has expressed it: "For the New Testament writers in general, the eschaton has entered history; the hidden rule of God has been revealed; the Age to Come has come."[5]

But though the new age has been thus inaugurated in Jesus' presence and work on earth, its consummation, according to the New Testament representation, is still in the future. In the Gospels, Jesus Himself is recorded as in some passages emphasizing the new era as already having arrived in His presence in the world and in His working in the hearts and lives of those who accepted His Gospel and did His will; while in other passages, especially in some of His parables, He is recorded as representing the completion or consummation of the new era as a matter of the future, dependent on the gradual extension of His rule or reign. The New Testament view has recently been vividly represented by the distinguished Swiss

4. *Ibid.*, p. 219.
5. C. H. Dodd, *The Apostolic Preaching and its Development*, p. 210.

New Testament scholar, Oscar Cullmann, in the distinction he draws between what he calls in modern jargon, "the D-day" of history and the "V-day." "The decisive battle in a war," he says, "may already have occurred in a relatively early stage of the war, and yet the war still continues. Although the decisive effect of that battle is perhaps not recognized by all, it nevertheless already means victory. But the war must still be carried on for an undefined time until victory day actually arrives."[6] Precisely this, says Cullmann, is the situation represented in the New Testament. In what he calls the "Christ-event," the "Once for all" event of the Life, Death and Resurrection of Jesus Christ, the decisive battle of history with the powers of evil has been fought and won. Final victory has been assured, but this victory is still in the future, the day of the full consummation of God's Kingdom or rule, when Christ shall be "all and in all" (Col. 3:11). And the present period of redemptive history is the period of the activity of the risen, living Christ through His Church, a period which is spoken of by Cullmann as a "Zwischen-zeit," the time between the decisive battle which has already occurred, and the full victory which is still in the future.

IV

Such is the view of history presented in the New Testament. Christ is its centre, its midpoint; history proceeds to and from Him. From this midpoint of history, the Christ-event culminating in the Cross and Resurrection and Exaltation of Jesus, light is thrown at once over the past and over the future. It illuminates the past, first, of Israel's history, which is seen as a preparation for the coming of Christ and is thus shot through with a Divine redemptive purpose, a developing *Heilsgeschichte*; and second, of universal history, which is seen as providentially governed for the fulfilment of moral ends by a God who came to be realized, not only as Jehovah the God of Israel but as the God of all nations who not only brought the Israelites from Egypt but also "the Philistines from Caphtor and the Syrians from Kir" (Amos 9: 7). The "Christ-event" casts light also over the future, which is looked upon as a progressive fulfilment of redemptive purposes, issuing in a final consummation and victory at the Second Coming of Christ, which is spoken of in the New Testament as His Parousia ("appearance") to judge the world and bring in an eternal reign of glory.

As to when this final consummation will take place there is a development of view in the New Testament itself. To begin with in primitive Christianity it was believed to be imminent. In his earliest extant letters Paul evidently shared the belief of the early disciples in the speedy return of Christ. He expected it to be very soon, in his own life time indeed or in the life time of those to whom he wrote. But in his later letters we find him departing from this early belief and allowing his recognition of the unexpected delay in the

6. Oscar Cullmann, *Christ and Time*, p. 145.

return of Christ to lead him to a modification of his inherited early Christian eschatology and a new emphasis on the ever fuller coming of Christ through the presence and working of His Spirit in the Church. But whatever the difference of view in the New Testament writings as regards the nearness or remoteness of the Parousia, there is no difference as regards the intensity of hope and assurance in a final consummation and victory. This is so because it is a hope and assurance grounded not in anything that is still to come but in a fact that has already taken place. As Cullmann puts it "What has already happened provides sure guaranty for what is still to happen."[7]

This Christian view of history is sometimes referred to as a linear view of history, as contrasted with the general ethnic pre-Christian cyclical or circular view referred to in the beginning of this article. So indeed it has been characterized by Cullmann, the distinguished New Testament scholar to whom we have already referred. But so to characterize it is strictly incorrect and misleading since "its distinctive feature is," as Dr. John Marsh puts it, "that the end (or climax) of the process has already appeared in the middle of the line."[8] The linear view of history is that associated rather with liberal humanistic evolutionary thinking with its exaggerated optimistic estimate of the possibilities of what man can do in his own strength for his own and society's reconstruction and redemption. Such a way of thinking, whether conceived of in a more materialistic or more idealistic fashion, regards history as a gradual continuous upward progress, having perhaps its ups and downs but manifesting in its general trend a steady ascent. For such a way of thinking the Christian view which selects one particular historical individual and one particular event in history, and declares that it possesses an absolute and final religious value by contrast with all other individuals and events, is a "scandal" or "offence"—"the scandal of particularity" it has been called by Gerhard Kittel in *Mysterium Christi*.[9] "Once for all at the end [or consummation] of the age he [Christ] has appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself" (Heb. 9:26). Such is the uniform New Testament representation. And the subsequent historical development resulting from this "once for all" appearance is thought of less as an evolution than as a continual resurrection and regeneration process, a dying and rising again into newness of life.

V

The final outcome of this resurrection and regeneration process through the working of the living exalted Christ and His Spirit is represented by Paul in such terms as these: "In the fulness of time to unite (lit. "to bring to a head") all things in him [Christ], things in heaven and things on earth" (Eph. 1:10); "Through him [Christ] to reconcile to himself [God]

7. *Ibid.*, p. 146.
8. John Marsh, *The Fulness of Time*, p. 169.
9. Op. cit., Essay II.

all things whether on earth or in heaven" (Col. 1:20); "God has highly exalted him [Christ] and bestowed on him the name which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, in heaven and on earth and under the earth, and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father" (Phil. 2:9–11). In the last book of the Bible, the book of Revelation, this consummation of history is represented in more detail in the language of Apocalyptic in terms of a final dramatic struggle and victory. On one side are arrayed all the powers of Evil visible and invisible, on the earth and beyond it, Satan and his minions; on the other the exalted enthroned Christ, the crucified Jesus now "King of Kings and Lord of Lords." Of the issue of the struggle, dreadful though it be, there is no doubt. This one thing is sure "The Lord our God the Almighty reigns" (Rev. 19:6). The powers of Evil cannot win, they have already been beaten. The battle has already been won at Calvary and in the Resurrection. The struggle, severe as it is, is but the birth pangs of a New Creation. And with the vision of this New Creation, "a new heaven, and a new earth" (Rev. 21:1), the New Testament story ends.

This representation which is set forth largely in the form of myth and symbol, drawn from Jewish apocalyptic and Hellenistic Gnostic speculation, is difficult of apprehension and acceptance by the modern mind. The whole Biblical story of Divine redemption indeed is represented today by a dominant current school of scholars as "mythological" in character, and the claim is made by this "demythologising school," of which Professor Rudolf Bultmann of Marburg is a chief representative, to get behind the traditional mythological framework of the Christian Gospel and state it in terms more acceptable to the modern scientific mind.[10] The picture of the world presented in the Bible—such is the representation—is that of a "three-storey" or "three-decker" universe conceived quite literally in spatial terms, with heaven above and the underworld below, and in between the two the earth which is open to miraculous intervention or invasion both from God and angelic powers above, and from Satan and the powers of evil below. So when the Bible, and the New Testament in particular, presents the story of Divine saving intervention in the world it does so in terms of this old world cosmology. Through the descent of Jesus from heaven, and the saving efficacy of His life and death and resurrection and ascension, the demonic world-powers are robbed of their dominion and a new world era or world order is ushered in. We must today however, it is said, get rid of such a scientifically outdated or outmoded conception of the universe if we are to expect acceptance of the Christian Gospel. So Bultmann pleads for a "demythologized" presentation of the Gospel, and the way to this he suggests for us today must be or should be, through following the guidance of the so called "existentialist" philosophy as expounded in particular by the German philosopher Heidegger and translating the "myths" of Scripture

10. See especially Bultmann's Essay, "New Testament and Mythology" in *Kerygma and Myth* (E. T.), pp. 1–44.

from intellectual cosmological terms into terms of properly religious experience and decision. Presented in such terms—as the living "encounter" of man with God for redemptive ends in Jesus Christ—Bultmann believes the essential Christian Gospel can be stated in a way that is independent of changing intellectual forms of thought, scientific, or philosophical; the knowledge of its truth and saving efficacy being attained not primarily through intellectual or rational understanding but through Spiritual committal and surrender.

We cannot now enter into any critical appreciation of Bultmann's suggested "existential" restatement of the Gospel for the modern scientific mind. On this it must suffice for the present, while acknowledging the considerable service done by him to Biblical and in particular to New Testament scholarship, simply to indicate two things. First, in our judgement, Bultmann does not sufficiently recognize the fact that the language of religion and spiritual truth, as contrasted with that of science and philosophy, must be not that of rational concept but of poetic "myth" and symbol, figurative and pictorial. And second, and chiefly, again in our judgement, he does less than justice at once to the New Testament representation and to the witness of Christian history and experience with its ever repeated corroboration of the essential abiding miracle of the living Christ's working, expressed in the Pauline statement that "if any one is in Christ he is a new creation; the old has passed away, behold the new has come" (2 Cor. 5:17).

The Religion of Samuel Johnson*

NEIL GREGOR SMITH

DURING their tour of Scotland James Boswell and Samuel Johnson amused themselves by assigning places on the faculty of an imaginary university in St. Andrews to members of their club. It was agreed that Boswell should teach civil law and that Goldsmith should give instruction in ancient history. For teaching theology Johnson could think of no one more suitable than himself. "I'll trust theology to nobody but myself,"[1] he said. While conceding that Percy, being a clergyman, might be trusted to teach practical divinity, Johnson insisted on reserving to himself "logick, metaphysicks and scholastick divinity."

If members of the Presbyteries of the Church of Scotland were aware of Doctor Johnson's disrespect for the Presbyterian system of church polity they would be very unlikely to invite him to teach theology at St. Andrews. When he came to Scotland he was prepared to view Presbyterian church institutions with the open-minded tolerance that one might expect of a Spanish Inquisitor. Presbyterians were "sectaries" in England, and as far as Johnson was concerned that meant that they must be "sectaries" everywhere else. A church that had no bishops, and no Book of Common Prayer, was, in his eyes, scarcely to be regarded as a church at all. He made no effort to conceal his opinions. He expected to be entertained by the Scottish ministers, but felt that he should not be expected to worship with them. When asked if he would go to hear Principal Robertson preach he answered that if Robertson would climb a tree to deliver his sermon he might listen to him, but that he would not sanction a Presbyterian assembly by his presence.[2] He hoped that a decaying steeple would not be taken down, as there was a possibility that it might fall on some of the posterity of John Knox.[3] When he was being taken to see the Church of St. Giles in Edinburgh he said, "Come, let me see what was once a church!"[4] He could not believe that Presbyterians really worshipped when they listened to extemporary prayers, and never knew what the minister would pray for next. When reminded that Episcopalians were dissenters in Scotland he retorted that they were in Scotland as Christians in Turkey. The holding of such views made the possibility of his appointment to a chair of divinity in St. Andrews extremely remote.

Some of his disparaging remarks about Presbyterians were, doubtless, like some of his numerous invectives against Scotland, "more in pleasantry

*Quotations from Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, edited by George Birbeck Hill, revised and enlarged by L. F. Powell (Oxford), are indicated by *Life*. Quotations from *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, edited by George Birbeck Hill (Oxford, 1897), are indicated by *Misc.*

1. *Life*, V:109.
2. *Ibid.*, V:121.
3. *Ibid.*, V:63.
4. *Ibid.*, V:41.

and sport than real or malignant."[5] His caustic comments aroused the wrath of a few ministers like Donald Macnicol, but for the most part his jibes were received with good-humoured patience. "Johnson sometimes cracks his jokes upon us," Principal Robertson is reported to have said, "but he will find we can distinguish between the stabs of malevolence and the rebukes of the righteous, which are like excellent oil, and break not the head." In a non-argumentative mood Johnson expressed the belief that all Christians agreed in the essential articles of faith, and that their differences were trivial.[6] There might be a great contrast between the outward form of a church in Scotland and the outward form of a church in Italy, but he thought the doctrine taught essentially the same.

On Christian doctrine, on what was essential and what was trivial in it, he had strong convictions. In the midst of the age of enlightment, when the scepticism of Voltaire and Hume were gaining ascendancy, when bishops and pamphleteers were lamenting the growth of infidelity, Doctor Johnson was prepared to defend the reasonableness of revealed religion, particularly as that religion was enshrined in the faith and practice of the Church of England. The views expressed in his recorded conversations may sometimes be open to suspicion as opinions advanced for the sake of provoking or maintaining an argument. "I dogmatize and am contradicted," he said, "and in this conflict of opinions and sentiments I find delight."[7] The general tenor of his convictions may, however, be traced with considerable confidence. From the *Prayers and Meditations* written for his own use, from conversations with intimate friends where there was no audience to impress, and from the observations of those who knew him best, it is possible to reconstruct the main outlines of his beliefs on the subjects embraced in what he called "scholastick divinity."

His theology was formed on the basis of early religious training, tempered by a period of youthful scepticism. It was built up through wide reading in general literature and in current works of divinity. It was nurtured in practices of piety and habits of devotion; and it was severely tested in the hardships, sorrows and privations of a life in which he professed to find much to be endured and little to be enjoyed.

The most important factor in his theology was undoubtedly the fact that he had been reared and nurtured in the Church of England. He held that we should not, without very good reason, desert the religion in which we have been brought up. "That" he said, "is the religion given you, the religion in which, it may be said, Providence has placed you. If you live conscientiously in that religion you may be safe."[8] Providence had placed Samuel Johnson in the Church of England, and he was eminently satisfied with the place that Providence had given him, although he was never very confident that he was safe. For most of his life he was oppressed by melancholy and beset by doubts regarding the possibility of his salvation. He feared death

5. *Misc.*, II:216.
6. *Life*, I:405, II:250.
7. *Ibid.*, II:92.
8. *Ibid.*, III:298.

and what might come after death, but he never doubted that the church in which he had been reared was a trustworthy guide to follow.

He became very angry at a young lady of his acquaintance who had left the Church of England to join the Quakers. When Mrs. Knowles tried to plead the case of the "amiable young creature" Johnson stormed:

"Madam, she is an odious wench! She could not have any proper conviction that it was her duty to change her religion, which is the most important of all subjects, and should be studied with all care, and with all the helps we can get. She knew no more of the Church she left and that which she embraced than she did of the difference between the Copernical and Ptolemaic systems."[9]

Mrs. Knowles pleaded that he might not remain unforgiving, and expressed the pious hope that he might meet her at last "in those bright regions where pride and prejudice never enter." "Meet her!" said Johnson, "I never desire to meet fools anywhere."

Much as he disliked all forms of religious dissent he was less intolerant towards Roman Catholicism than many of his contemporaries. He referred to it as "the old religion," and frequently defended its practices. In true John Bull fashion he had a ready formula for making a decision on points of difference which existed between the Church of England and the Church of Rome. He confidently assumed that where they differed from the Church of England they were wrong. This convenient standard of judgment could be applied impartially to Presbyterians, Methodists, Quakers, Turks and infidels. He thought that Wesley and Whitefield might do much good by their preaching, but heartily approved of the expulsion of Methodist students from Oxford.

"Was it not hard, Sir," said Boswell, "to expell them, for I am told they were good beings."
"Sir," said Johnson, "I believe they might be good beings; but they were not fit to be in the University of Oxford. A cow is a very good animal in the field, but we turn her out of a garden."[10]

Faith was always rather difficult to maintain for one of his "stubborn rationality," but he always tried to bear himself as a loyal son of the church in which he had been reared. He respected its bishops and clergy, believing that they had produced the most valuable books in support of religion.

From the few notices we have of his early religious training we know that he was set to memorize some of the collects of the Prayer Book (a task which he found ridiculously easy), and was required to read *The Whole Duty of Man*. He became for a time "a lax talker against religion," neglecting church attendance to read in the fields. He credited a reading of William Law's *Serious Call* with stimulating his first serious reflections on religion. He had taken up the book, expecting to find it dull, and had been quite prepared to laugh at it. He found that Law was more than a match for

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*, II:187.

him. In later life he expressed the opinion that Law's *Serious Call* was the finest piece of hortatory theology in any language.

From the citations in the *Dictionary* it would be possible to draw up an imposing list of theological writers with whose works he had some acquaintance. He quoted from the sermons of Richard Bentley and Robert South, from Henry More's *Antidote against Atheism*, from Isaac Watts and Richard Hooker. He admired the works of Richard Baxter, who, as he pointed out to Hannah More, "was bred up in the establishment." He frequently read from the Greek New Testament, and reproached himself for not reading more.

He shared the religious temper of his age in believing that the truth of Christianity could be rationally demonstrated. He thought no honest man could be a Deist, because no man could be so after a fair examination of the proofs of Christianity. When Hume was mentioned as an exception, Johnson would not admit the exception, claiming that Hume had never read the New Testament with attention. When a well-known infidel was praised in his presence he protested vigorously: "Let us not praise talents so ill employed. Sir, we foul our mouths by commending such infidels."[11] The Christian religion, he was convinced, had very strong evidences, and it had the additional support of the testimony of the wise and virtuous of preceding generations. The faith of the Church, buttressed with convincing evidence, and supported by the testimony of the wise and the learned, was a reasonable body of beliefs, intended by a beneficent Creator to give guidance to man in this world and prepare him for citizenship in the next.

Sentimentality and emotionalism had little place in the religion of Doctor Johnson. He spoke slightingly of a popular book of meditations written by James Hervey, and made a parody of its style with a meditation upon a pudding. Impatient with sentimentality, he was impatient also with scrupulosity about minute details of faith and conduct. When the puritan objection to ornate clothing was being discussed Johnson observed that he thought it better for us to take the spirit of contention from our tongues and souls than to tear the lace from our waistcoats. "A man who cannot get to Heaven in a green coat will not find his way thither any sooner in a grey one."[12] Scruples were certain to make men miserable, and seldom made them good. A clerk employed in packing goods in a warehouse accused himself to Doctor Johnson of having taken home paper and packthread for his own use. When Johnson found that it had been done with his employer's knowledge and consent, he said:

> "I advise you, Sir, to study algebra, if you are not an adept already in it; your head would get less muddy, and you would leave off tormenting your neighbours about paper and packthread while we all live together in a world that is bursting with sin and sorrow."[13]

There are numerous references in his own meditations to scruples which

11. *Misc.*, I:211. 12. *Ibid.*, I:222. 13. *Ibid.*, I:300.

tormented him, and he prayed earnestly that he might not lavish away his life on useless trifles, nor waste it in vain searches after things that were hidden from him.

On most of the tenets of the Christian faith Johnson maintained a strict orthodoxy. He reverenced the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as a rule of faith and manners, and read them with the best commentaries available. He used the notes of Erasmus on the New Testament, and Patrick and Lowth on the Old Testament. He believed that man was deeply tainted with original sin, with a propensity to grow more wicked with age, and only restrained from worse wickedness by the fear of retribution and punishment.

He considered belief in purgatory a harmless doctrine,[14] judging it reasonable that the generality of mankind are neither so obstinately wicked as to deserve everlasting punishment, nor so good as to be admitted to the fellowship of the Blessed. "There is no harm in believing it," he said: "but you must not compel others to make it into an article of faith, for it is not revealed."[15] He thought it remarkable that in all recorded history it was still undecided whether there had ever been an instance of the spirit of any person appearing after death. "All argument is against it; but all belief is for it."[16] That his own belief was for it is seen in his prayer on April 26, 1752, when he requested that he might enjoy the good effects of the ministrations of his departed wife, "whether exercised by appearances, impulses, dreams, or in any other manner agreeable to Thy government." He was quite aware that he was leaning over the limits of orthodoxy in making such a request, for the strange petition is modified with a plea to forgive his presumption and enlighten his ignorance. There is good reason to believe that his own sentiments on the subject are voiced in the speech of Imlac in *Rasselas*:

> "That the dead are seen no more," said Imlac, "I will not undertake to maintain against the concurrent and unvaried testimony of all ages, and of all nations. There is no people, rude or learned, among whom apparitions of the dead are not related and believed. This opinion, which perhaps prevails as far as human nature is diffused, could become universal only by its truth; those that never heard of one another would not have agreed in a tale which nothing but experience can make credible. That it is doubted by single cavillers, can very little weaken the general evidence; and some who deny it with their tongues confess it with their fears."[17]

His prayers for departed friends, qualified with the statement "so far as it may be lawful" were ridiculed by Cowper and others on their first publication as evidences of religious dotage. They may more properly be understood as the instinctive utterances of a lonely man, grieving for the loss of friends whose companionship he had valued.

He had no doubts about the reality of a future state, with rewards and

14. *Life*, II:104.
15. *Ibid.*, II:162.
16. *Ibid.*, III:230.
17. Samuel Johnson, *Rasselas* (London, 1817), p. 116.

punishments. The happiness of the blessed would consist in "consciousness of the love of God, in the contemplation of truth, and in the possession of felicitating ideas."[18] As it was necessary for the general good that individuals should be punished in human societies, it might be necessary in the life hereafter, in keeping the blessed in the state of rectitude, to have continually before them the punishment of those who had deviated from it.[19] He admitted more than once that he could not be sure that he had fulfilled the conditions necessary for salvation. He feared, accordingly, that he might be among those who were damned. When Dr. Adams asked him what he meant by damned, he answered passionately and loudly, "Sent to Hell, Sir, and punished everlastingly!" Mrs. Adams remarked that he seemed to forget the merits of his Redeemer. "Madam," said Johnson, "I do not forget the merits of my Redeemer; but my Redeemer has said that he will set some on his right hand and some on his left." In gloomy agitation he broke off the discussion, saying, "I'll have no more on't."[20]

The fear of something after death was very real to Johnson. In the fragment of his memoirs that was rescued from destruction he recalled his first instruction in religion by his mother:

> I suppose that in this year [1711–12] I was first informed of a future state. I remember that being in bed with my mother one morning I was told by her of the two places to which the inhabitants of this world were received after death; one a fine place, filled with happiness, called Heaven; the other, a sad place, called Hell. That this account much affected my imagination I do not remember.[21]

The very fact that he remembered the incident so long afterwards would suggest that it affected his imagination more than he supposed. A modern psychologist might infer that Johnson's fear of death, so often alluded to, had its origins in such instruction given to a sensitive and imaginative child.

When death came to him at last he met it with courage. When he was told that he could not recover he resolved to take no more opiates, that he might render up his soul to God unclouded. He was strengthened for his last journey by the prayers of the church, and was comforted by the assurances of his friends that they were better and wiser men because of his life and conversation.

Thackeray judged that Johnson had done more to stem the tide of infidelity in England than whole benches of bishops. Certain it is that he influenced many who would never have been touched by the preaching of a Wesley or a Whitefield. His influence has been extended far beyond his own generation through his writings, and through the talk, sparkling with wit and wisdom and common sense, which his friends preserved for us. He has had a larger and more influential audience for his instruction in scholastick divinity than he would have had in his imaginary university at St. Andrews.

18. *Life*, II:162.
19. *Ibid.*, III:200.
20. *Ibid.*, IV:300.
21. *Misc.*, I:135.

Communication*

D. R. G. OWEN

IT might well be argued that communication is the central task of the Church in the world. *What* the Church has to communicate is, of course, the "grace and truth [that] came by Jesus Christ" (Jn. 1:17). *How* we are to discharge this task in the modern world is not so clear. Various methods and means of communication have always existed, but powerful new media have made their appearance in our time. It is partly because of these inventions, with their great potentialities for good and evil, that considerable attention has recently been concentrated on researches and investigations into the nature of communication itself. The Church, because of its central task, must be ready and willing to make the best possible use of these developments.

One of the points on which there seems to be agreement among all those who are wrestling with this problem is that merely verbal communication is certainly not the only, and perhaps not the most effective method. Our attempts at communication in the Church have been vitiated in the past by excessive reliance on words, both spoken and printed, as though these were obviously the best, or even the only, means of teaching and imparting the truths of our faith. We may call this the error of verbalism. The onslaughts of television, to which most of us are now exposed, tell us in no uncertain terms that the picture is often a more effective vehicle of communication than the word. This lesson is well known also to the writers of advertisements and comic strips and to the editors of picture magazines. There are even some who believe that the pictograph will someday replace the printed word as the normal means of communication. Further, in the field of education, it is now widely held that human beings learn more, and retain what they learn longer, when they participate as a group in some activity, than when they are the passive and individual recipients of information and ideas conveyed in words alone. In the Church we have lagged behind these developments, and it seems safe to conclude that our failure effectively to transmit the Christian faith to our people and to the world is due, in part at least, to the mistake of verbalism, to our exclusive use of words in preaching, teaching and in conveying ideas.

This mistake is based, among other things, on a misunderstanding of the nature of Christian truth and on a misinterpretation of the way in which God communicates with man. God's self-communication has two aims, the revelation of his nature and the redemption of our nature. These two aims, to reveal and to redeem, come together and are both alike accomplished in the act. Usually the same divine act achieves both purposes, as in the de-

*This article is based on Convocation addresses delivered at Wycliffe College, Toronto, and Huron College, London in the Spring of 1956.

liverance of the Israelites from Egypt and above all in the deliverance of man through the Cross. In these acts, God reveals himself and saves his people. His truth and his grace are jointly communicated in the act. Christian truth, which is at the same time saving truth, is therefore not verbal but dramatic.

Our preoccupation with verbalism has led us astray especially in our understanding of the nature of revelation, so that it is commonly supposed that God has revealed himself in words, in the words of the Bible or the formulae of the creeds or the doctrines of theology. This misunderstanding is fostered by the fact that the Bible frequently refers to God as revealing himself by speaking and often describes the various modes of divine revelation as the Word of God.

A little reflection, however, makes it clear that in the Bible these are metaphors. God is there depicted as revealing himself in three great ways, in creation, in history, and in the life and death of Jesus Christ. The various acts of creation, described in Genesis, are all introduced by the phrase, "And God said." The creative acts are recounted in terms of speech. "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made . . . For he spake and it was done" (Ps. 33:6–9). This is clearly a metaphor based on the fact that speech is a common method of communication and on the belief that in creation God communicates himself. But the emphasis is on the fact that God reveals himself in his creative acts, and there is not the slightest tendency to suggest that this mode of divine self disclosure is literally given in words.

The second way in which the Bible teaches that God declares his nature is in historical events, especially in the history of Israel. In the Old Testament the prophets interpret the history of Israel in such a way that it becomes a vehicle of revelation, and the teaching of the prophets is regularly prefaced by the words, "Thus saith the Lord," or "The word of the Lord came to Hosea" (Hosea 1:2). God is "speaking" in the history of Israel; but this again is obviously a metaphor, the point of which is that God's action in history is a means of communication.

Finally, the revelation of God to man reaches its fulfilment in Jesus Christ. The same Word or communicating principle in God which was active in creation and in history was embodied in a human being. The creative and providential power of God "was made flesh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory . . . full of grace and truth" (Jn. 1:14). "God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in times past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son . . . by whom also he made the worlds" (Heb. 1:1–2). The nature and purpose of God became concrete, visible and tangible, so that St. John can speak of "that which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled of the Word of life" (1 Jn. 1:1). It is not so much what this man says, however important and profound his teaching, but rather what he is and does, the way in which he lives and dies, that gives us the truth about God. The truth resides in the person and his acts.

The various articles of the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds do not formulate certain doctrines but assert that certain acts have taken place or will take place—creation, incarnation, crucifixion, resurrection, the second coming and judgment. We therefore begin our professions of faith not with "I believe that," but rather with "I believe in." "Belief that" is directed at theories; "belief in" is related to persons and acts. For the same reason, the great bulk of the Bible consists not of philosophy or theology, in the usual sense, but of stories and of one great story.

J. V. L. Casserley, in his *No Faith of My Own*, points up the implications of the distinction between a philosophical system and a story. A philosophy is set forth in terms of general ideas and abstract conceptions; its obvious vehicle of communication is language. A story is recounted in terms of events, persons and purposeful actions; it is most effectively conveyed in drama and symbolic act. In a recent article the same author suggests that theology should be "related to the spectacle of life as a whole very much as the dramatic critic is related to the drama . . . To interpret drama is not merely to analyse its structure . . . but to unfold its meaning, and the meaning of drama is always dramatic. So that the interpretation of the drama is itself a dramatic event." The truth with which we are concerned in Christianity is "dramatic in its inherent character" and therefore demands drama "as the intellectual mode in which it is grasped and communicated."[1]

The view that revelation is conveyed in acts is confirmed by a consideration of the nature of the second aim of God's self-communication. The purpose of God is not only to impart to us the truth about himself so that we may be saved, but also to transmit to us his grace that we may be redeemed. This redemptive purpose of God could certainly not be accomplished by words, in the literal sense, but only by deeds. And according to the Bible, the redemption of man was inaugurated again in the history of Israel and reached its climax in the life and death of Jesus Christ. God saves us by his mighty acts which are, at the same time, also acts of revelation.

The way in which God communicates himself, both for revelation and for redemption, has considerable bearing on the nature of Christian truth, and offers clues to the most effective way in which this truth should be conveyed by us. Because of our addiction to verbalism, we commonly suppose that truth is a property of sentences, theories and doctrines, and we attempt to transmit it by words alone. But according to the interpretation suggested here, the saving truth was given in the first place not in words but in acts. It seems clear, then, that our efforts to impart this truth to our people and to the world should follow this divine procedure.

The twofold aim of God's communication with man is achieved in the drama of God's dealings with the world, in creation, in the history of Israel, and in Jesus Christ. The work of the Church, the new Israel, is to act as the

1. *Anglican Theological Review*, April 1956, pp. 132, 137.

continuing instrument of the revealing and redemptive purposes of God. This is what is meant by the assertion that the Church is the body of Christ. My body is the instrument by which I both reveal myself to my fellows and also accomplish my purposes in the world. In the same way, the Church is the body through which God both discloses his nature to men and thus gives them the truth, and also achieves his saving purpose, conveying to them his grace. The double aim of the divine self-communication is summed up in Christ, who is therefore described as "full of grace and truth." But, as St. Theresa said, Christ has no body now on earth, through which to express his grace and truth, except his Church. The real function of the Church, and of the local congregation which *is* the Church in that place, is to transmit to men the knowledge and the power of God.

Church work, in the deepest meaning of the phrase, is communication, in this highest of all senses. This is what St. Paul refers to as the vocation of all Christians. This vocation, which is "Church work," moves in two directions, one internal and one external. St. Paul speaks of the first task as "the perfecting of the saints," "the edifying of the body of Christ." It is the process by which the body is built up; it is the work of nurturing the members of the body, so that they "may grow up into him in all things who is the head, even Christ" (Ephes. 4:12, 15). This is the task of internal communication.

In attempting to discharge this task, we have made two mistakes. In the first place, we have regarded this work, commonly known as Christian education, as largely the responsibility of the clergy, in so far, at any rate, as its object is the adult portion of the congregation. But this is clearly part of the vocation of all who are fully incorporated into the body. Secondly, we have tended to assume that the aims of Christian education could be accomplished almost entirely by words. These errors are responsible for the very real internal failure of the Church, which is a failure in communication.

This domestic failure in turn results in the Church's failure to discharge its external and missionary task. The Church is in the world, and the congregation is in the local community, not only for purposes of self-edification but also in order to convert the world. "Now I am no more in the world, but these are in the world . . . As thou hast sent me into the world, even so have I also sent them into the world . . . that the world may believe . . ." (Jn. 17:11, 18, 21). Here we have made the same two mistakes. We have supposed that evangelistic work belonged chiefly to the clergy and that it could be carried out simply by preaching at the world. But there is no point at all in a few individuals trying to tell the world what it is that can alone save the world. It is necessary to show the world by a corporate demonstration. The saving truth was given originally not in words but in acts, and it must continue to be conveyed in the same way. The Word must be made flesh in the life of the Church, and this means in the life of the local congregation.

We must change our methods of communication, and we can learn much from the new techniques now widely employed for secular purposes. The modern view of education, based on facts discovered by the new sciences of man, is specially relevant. This view makes two important points. First, it insists that the human being learns best by participating in some activity. The same emphasis is found in many modern philosophies, in Pragmatism with its motto, "Learn by doing," in Existentialism with its constant reference to decision and involvement, and in Marxism with its stress on *praxis*, illustrated by the saying of its founder, "The philosophers have only *interpreted* the world in various ways; the point, however, is to change it,"[2] or, better, to come to understand it in and through the process of changing it.

If we are suspicious of the method of learning through action, we need to be reminded that this is not just the latest fad but can be regarded as the recovery of a Biblical insight. This is the way in which God communicates with man. And in many a New Testament passage we are instructed to do likewise. "If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine" (Jn. 7:17); "Be ye doers of the word" (Jas. 1:22). "I will show you my faith by my works." (Jas. 2:18); "Whosoever heareth my words and doeth them . . ." (Mt. 5:16). Such passages should not be interpreted in an individualistic or even an exclusively moral sense. It is, of course, a matter of practising what we preach, but more than this is involved. These sayings also suggest that we should strive to teach the Christian faith not just in words, in preaching and in verbal instruction, but also through group participation and dramatic action. We must utilize the new understanding of the learning process, of personal relations, and of group behaviour.

This indicates the second point that is stressed in modern educational theory. The emphasis is not only less on words and more on activity, but also less on the individual and more on the group. Not only is it true that we learn by doing but also that we learn by participating in group activities. The human person can only develop in a community of persons. Here again we can accept this point of view not because it is the newest fashion but because it is perfectly consistent with the Christian understanding of the person. For the New Testament teaches that the human being is not simply an isolated individual but a social being who can only achieve personal maturity in the body of Christ and whose destiny is to be a citizen of the Kingdom of God.

Our vocation, real "Church work," is the work of edifying the body so that the whole life of the congregation, expressed in all its activities and organizations, becomes itself a mode of theological communication, first to its own members, and through them to the world. The essential task of the Church is to mediate the knowledge and power of God to those within the fellowship in such a way that those outside are confronted with a visible and undeniable demonstration of the only way in which the world can be saved.

2. Theses on Feuerbach.

The question as to how this can be accomplished is largely a question of communication. If the problem is to be solved, we must move beyond our preoccupation with words. Taking our cue not only from modern techniques but also from the way in which God, as the Bible portrays him, conveys his grace and truth to man, we must recover and adapt to modern needs and methods the ancient use of act, drama, picture and pageantry. It is one of the weaknesses of modern Protestantism that it has largely abandoned such practices in the interests of a misconceived ministry of the word. There has been a tendency to misinterpret the Word in terms of words, to sacrifice dramatic act for verbal exhortation, and to replace the broken images with rhetoric.

There is, of course, the opposite error, to which Catholicism is prone, of emphasizing the act at the expense of preaching and exposition. It has been said that the principle which should inform the proper conduct of public worship might be expressed in the words "Don't just stand there, do something." While sympathizing with this attitude, we should be aware of the danger of acts separated from explanation and performed for their own sake. This is to relapse into magic and into the *ex opere operato* position in which actions are done without any participation of the heart and mind.

This brings us to the last point. There is something more than slightly absurd about a spate of words, such as this, the apparent aim of which is to disparage the use of words. This article should not be taken as advocating a kind of anti-intellectual pragmatism, of which so-called "progressive" education is often justifiably accused. We are all aware of the fact that the "projects," so dear to the hearts of the progressivists, are frequently aimless and insignificant, that their "group participation" is sometimes merely a method of exchanging ignorant and uninformed opinions, and that their emphasis on "self-expression," "felt needs," and "student-centred" programmes often covers a deficiency in the art of teaching on the part of the instructor, and results in a failure to achieve self-discipline and intellectual excellence on the part of the student.

Recognition of the need for participation, demonstration and dramatic action does not involve the rejection of verbal interpretation, instruction and preaching, of theological formulation and explanation, or of factual and historical information that has to be imparted in the old style. God reveals himself in his creative acts, but his creation has to be explained if it is to become a vehicle of divine revelation. God discloses his will and carries out his purposes in history, but history must be prophetically interpreted before it can be understood in this way. Christ declares the nature of God and redeems the nature of man by his life and death, but he also preached and taught in words. At the same time, we are frequently told in the New Testament that the disciples completely misunderstood his verbal teaching. Even Jesus, that great teacher, could not put the truth into words; he had to do it. He could not explain the Cross; he had to die on the Cross. It was only when he actually died and rose again that the disciples grasped and were grasped by the saving truth.

God reveals himself and saves the world by what he does. As in God's dealings with men, so in our attempts to communicate with our fellows, it is the act that is primary, and the word, while indispensable, secondary. Or, to put it differently, when the act and the word come together, then we have "the true and living Word," the Word of God which is "quick, and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword" (Heb. 4:12).

If it is God's purpose to communicate himself to men through the agency of his Church, then the Church and the local congregation which is the Church, must recognize itself and makes itself recognizable as the body of Christ, whose function is to demonstrate and mediate the "grace and truth [which] came by Jesus Christ" (Jn. 1:17), and which are the only hope of this bewildered and grievously threatened world.

Archives and the Witness of the Church

GEORGE BOYLE

THERE is probably no phase of the Church's work which evokes less interest among the clergy and laity alike than that of the collection and maintenance of its archives. This is, in part, the result of the constraint which is laid upon the Church by its evangelical mission which precludes its serious involvement in work which has no apparent relation to its primary responsibility. In the face of overwhelming problems arising from the abnormal expansion of communities in every part of Canada, there is great reluctance to expend time and energy on what may appear a peripheral matter. However, this does not entirely account for the Church's present disinterest in its archives, for at no time has the Church in Canada seriously undertaken to preserve its archival treasures. Periodically persons sensitive to the Church's responsibility in this regard have protested, and church courts have solemnly legislated for the collection of records, but, with the "shouting and the tumult," such measures died.

Of course the Church is not unique among institutions in Canada in its attitude to archives. The Massey Report on the *National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences* reveals the grave concern of the Commission over the carelessness with which even the most important government offices have treated their records, and over the absence of any uniform policy governing the preservation and maintenance of documents and correspondence vital to the proper understanding of the history of the nation. Accordingly the Commission made specific recommendations for the amelioration of the existing situation, many of which have been implemented under the vigorous leadership of the Dominion Archivist, Dr. W. Kaye Lamb.[1]

The source of our trouble is twofold: the inadequate understanding of the nature and purpose of archives; and the almost complete failure on the part of the Church to appreciate the significance of its history. The connection between these will be immediately obvious, for any history of the Church that is worthy of the name can be written only on the basis of the authentic records and documents of the Church's courts and congregations. The importance of the archives of the Church therefore can be assessed only in relation to the importance of the history of the Church.

In a previous article in this Journal, Professor T. R. Millman has drawn our attention to the difficulty which Church historians experienced in attempting to establish Church History among the respected disciplines of the British universities.[2] In Canadian theological colleges Church History

1. Report, Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences, 1949–1951. Ottawa, Edmond Chantier, 1951, pp. 111–122, 335–345.

2. The Study of Canadian Church History, *Canadian Journal of Theology*, Vol 1, No. 1.

has its place among the major disciplines. But to the Canadian, history frequently refers only to the ancient past, and Church History to that phase of the Church's existence prior to its advent on this continent. Church History, insofar as it concerns the Church in this Dominion, has not achieved the position which is its due, either in the curricula of our colleges or in the interests of students. This is one of the anomalies of Canadian Church life, for the achievements of the Church in Canada in the fields of political freedom, human rights, and the amelioration of social evils, to say nothing of its own peculiar work of preaching and teaching the Gospel, are surpassed by few in the history of Christendom, and among its leaders are those whose names can rightly find their places in the annals of the great.

The history of the Christian Church in Canada is part of the sociological and cultural history of this nation. The present separation of Church and State, and the Church's apparent ineptitude in the political arena, must not blind us to the role which it has played in the national development. A churchman, assessing those factors influencing the growth of this nation, may give undue prominence to the Church, but it is a sign for our encouragement that secular historians are moving toward a deeper appreciation of the Church's part in the shaping of many of our institutions and in the moulding of the thought and character of our people.[3] Whatever can be said for the influence of such factors as geography and economics upon the development of the national culture, the completely authentic story of the Canadian people can be written only when the historian takes due cognizance of the life and work of the Church.

For the Church, of course, its history is not merely an academic interest. The thought, opinions, convictions and reactions of a people are conditioned by their education. The study of Canadian history is part of the education of a large body of university students, many of whom find their way onto the staffs of our secondary schools. If these people have been introduced to and instructed in the history of Canada by historians who all but ignore the work of the Christian Church, they will, with few exceptions, teach the history of Canada from this essentially sub-christian and therefore distorted point of view. We are fully aware that history taught in the secondary schools is of necessity very elementary, but nonetheless such teaching moulds the thinking of the adolescent, and unquestionably contributes to the student's secularistic approach to life. Moreover there are thousands of university men and women who, though they have studied Canadian history, are left without any real appreciation of the contribution of the Church to this nation. These people, in the course of a generation, comprise a large and influential group of Canadians—leaders we like to think—in important positions in Canadian life. If their leadership has a fundamental, secularistic bias, it can be attributed in a large measure to the completely secularistic interpretation of Canadian history.

However, lest we should be accused of unfairly criticizing the secular

3. *Vide* George W. Brown, *Canada in the Making*, p. 19.

historian, we must hasten to point out that the Church has not made this aspect of his task easy, if at all possible. The Church may try to place the onus upon the historian for an equitable assessment of its influence in this nation, and so it can, only if it has first provided the historian with materials from which such influence can be judged. This the Church has not done. The prodigality with which we have wasted our records is scandalous. The Church and not the historian stands under condemnation, for the neglect in Canadian historical writing of a fair assessment of its contribution to the development of this nation.

The history of the Church, however, is important not merely as an aspect of the national history, but primarily because of what that history means for the Church itself. At the risk of being commonplace, we must note that the doctrines and affirmations of the Christian Church are interpretations of certain historical events which comprise the history of a people. These historical events have meaning because they are conceived as revealing the redemptive activity of God, and therefore something of His mind, will and purpose. These events culminated in the life and teaching, or rather in the Person and work of Christ, so that at the very centre of our faith stands a Person, who has his place within the realm of profane history, beginning His ministry in the 15th year of the reign of Tiberius, and dying under Pontius Pilate. He is no legendary figure, but One who, as Brunner says "stands exposed to the full light of history."[4] A historical Person, yes, but more—the Eternal Logos of God become man. In fact the very essence of the Christian faith is based upon an interpretation of the Person *and work* of Christ, conceived as nothing less than the redemptive work of God Himself.

But if the faith of the Christian Church is so grounded, an integral aspect of that faith is the conviction that God continues, through the Holy Spirit, His redemptive activity in the *ecclesia.* Just as at the Exodus, God created a Holy People, so at Pentecost, the *ecclesia* is created as the Community of the New Age—a community which, while born of the Spirit, and eschatologically oriented, is in fact an historical reality in that its normal existence takes form within the framework, and in relation to the framework, of so-called profane history. To think of the Church as other than an historical reality as conceived in these terms, does violence both to the doctrine of the Incarnation and to the doctrine of the Church itself. The significance of the Incarnation lies in the fact that Jesus the Christ is the God-Man and here Christian Orthodoxy has rightly refused to compromise even in the face of inscrutable mystery. Christ is God and Man; otherwise there is no incarnation. If then this Person must be taken seriously as an historical person, that which he called into being, and which St. Paul boldly called his Body, must also be taken seriously as an historical reality. It is at this point that I find myself taking issue with Prof. Karl Löwith in his *Meaning in History.*[5] It is true that the Christian Community is not an historical-political entity such

4. *Eternal Hope*, p. 34.

5. *Vide* pp. 194ff.

as the People of Israel constituted, but on the contrary, neither is it a collection of so many individuals as Löwith seems to suggest.[6] It is also true, as Löwith points out that the call of the Gospel is to repentance in order that men may enter the Kingdom, the coming of which is of the very heart of the New Testament message. The Christians are members of a Kingdom, a Kingdom which is more real than was that of the Jews. This Kingdom, the fulfilment of which must await the *parousia*, is in fact an historical reality and the members of it are organized by the design of Christ himself into the *ecclesia*. This community emerged from the People of Israel by the creative work of Christ and of the Holy Spirit, and the events which transpire within it, are of an order similar to the life of Israel and to the life of Christ. They are of a similar order, but not of the same order. The difference lies in this, that while the history of Israel reveals the will and purpose of God, a revelation which culminated and was completed in Christ, the life of the Christian Community does not reveal the mind and will of God in the sense of unfolding that which has hitherto been hidden. Rather it witnesses to the continuing redemptive work of God which He has established in Christ and which He effects through the Holy Spirit. That "God is the same, yesterday, today and forever," is not a truism, it is a confession of faith, and its content is this: that the God who acted redemptively in Israel and in Christ still acts to save His people. We, therefore, who are called to bear witness to Him must bear the total witness; and of this the history of His Church is at least a part. Hence as Professor Skydsgaard writes: "At the centre of the History of the Kingdom of God stands Jesus Christ. Before His incarnation, the history of the Kingdom was enacted within Israel's national history, which steered towards Him and which was full of the expectation of His coming. Since His crucifixion, the History of the Kingdom has taken place within the Church, which lives in the expectation of His Second Coming."[7]

There is, however, general reluctance thus to understand the history of the Church because so much has transpired within the *ecclesia* that is obviously inimical to the work of the Holy Spirit. The history of the Church even in our own land and of recent times is not always something about which to be proud. The needless intolerance of differences on peripheral matters, the heartless cruelty which has been cloaked in the guise of a fight for righteousness, the weakness and irresolution in the face of social injustice, to mention but a few such things, stain the pages of its annals. Something better than this ought to pertain if the *ecclesia* is in fact what it has been portrayed above. Hence the question: how can such claims be substantiated in the light of these grave accusations?

The question betrays, of course, a misunderstanding of the important doctrines of the Holy Spirit and of the Kingdom of God, a misunderstanding which is all too prevalent in the Christian community today. As we have

6. *Op. cit.* p. 196.
7. *Scottish Journal of Theology*, Vol. 4, No. 4, p. 388.

said, the *ecclesia* is the sphere of God's redeeming work, where through the Holy Spirit He seeks to destroy the power of evil which holds sway over the lives of men. This is to imply that the *ecclesia* far from being the community of the perfect is in reality the community of those who are being redeemed. As Karl Barth puts it: "the people who see a great light are still the people who also walk in darkness."[8] Even though their lives have been touched by His Holy Spirit, and while they have been drawn to God within the orbit of the *ecclesia*, their lives still manifest the imperfection and the sinfulness of fallen men. Therefore, the life of the *ecclesia* will manifest, and frequently in tragically disproportionate degrees, both the power of sin and the power of the Holy Spirit.

It is true that with Christ, the power of the Kingdom of God invaded the world and that that power continues to exert itself through the Holy Spirit. But the Holy Spirit is but the *arrabon*[9] of that Kingdom, its first instalment, as it were, and when we lose sight of this, we lose the proper perspective concerning the life and therefore the history of the Church. The real kingdom is here—not a shadow of it. This is the significance of St. Paul's thought of the Holy Spirit as the *arrabon* of the Kingdom. The power of the Kingdom, the *arrabon* of which we have in the Spirit, is not different from that which will be manifest in the *pleroma*—except insofar as a portion differs from the whole. Therefore we must affirm that here in the Church is manifest the redeeming power of God, and that the history of the Church is the witness to that power.

The state of affairs that is normal in the Christian Church is one in which the power of God is in conflict with the power of evil, and there is tension just because these two powers are pitted against each other in a battle that has individual as well as cosmic significance. At times, it is the power of evil which appears the more evident as through indifference or slothfulness or outright rebellion members of the Church resign themselves to its sway; but that must never intimidate the Church from asserting that even here the power of God is manifest.

The history of that struggle is in fact the history of the *ecclesia* and because in the course of it, defeat and frustration are all too frequently evident, faith demands that we perceive here the Spirit of God in dynamic confrontation with evil. There is a reality here to which faith answers, a reality which manifests itself in the creation of new men and in the redemption of nations from darkness and demonic evil. It is this that gives the Church's history its deepest significance. Thus we cannot ignore the history of the Church, unless we choose to ignore the witness to the redemptive work of the Living God among succeeding generations of His people. And this is a choice which is not ours to make.

There is one dependable source for the Church's history—its archives. Their importance cannot be denied in the light of the importance of the

8. *Scottish Journal of Theology*, Vol. 3, No. 4, p. 347.
9. *Vide* II Cor. 1:22, 5:5, Eph. 1:14.

Church's history. If through carelessness any of these have perished, the Church must surely stand under judgment. The Church must preserve its archives and administer them in accordance with the best archival principles.

It is difficult, if not impossible to define precisely what we mean by or include in the term "archives". In his presidential address to the Society of American Archivists in 1954, Wayne C. Grover stated: "I imagine even at this late date we could not agree precisely on what archives are."[10] Archives must inevitably be defined in relation to the institution which created them and in terms of the purpose for which they are preserved. There is a mass of material to which no self-respecting archivist would afford housing space and yet an archivist must never allow such subjective factors as his own particular interests to determine the nature of the material which he collects. He must always determine, as objectively as possible, what of the material he is offered is genuinely necessary for the most thorough historical studies relating to the aims, objectives and responsibilities of the institution concerned. It is almost as fatal to the ultimate purpose of archives to accumulate unimportant material as to fail to preserve that which is important, for in the accumulation, that material which has value may be lost.

Church archives consist of documents created by the courts of the Church as well as those created by parishes or congregations. The former will include minute books, reports of standing and special committees, reports of commissions appointed for specific purposes, and all significant publications including the denominational publications. To this will be added the important correspondence received and written by the executive officers of the Church's courts and boards.

In addition to these official documents, the archives of the Church must also acquire any material from private persons which has bearing on the life and work of the Church. Such material consists of diaries, journals, and letters of those who have taken leading roles in the early days of church life in Canada, for these documents are a source of information on aspects of church life not normally found in the official record. Since the teaching and thought of the Church in any period is most fully reflected in the sermons and addresses of its ministers and teachers, the collections of these cannot be neglected, and the collection ought not to be confined to incumbents of famous pulpits. For historical purposes, collections of sermons must be as representative as possible, otherwise they will not serve as the basis for the adequate study of the preaching of a particular period.

In addition to this material which falls within the professional definition of archives, there are certain publications which are integral to the study of the history of the Church. These are the published books and pamphlets on theology, biblical study, church history, social and ethical problems and missionary work. The most important of these should be available in the

10. *The American Archivist*, Vol. XVIII, No. 1, January, 1955, p. 4.

libraries of our theological colleges, but since libraries are subject to the changing interests of teaching staffs, to say nothing of the generosity of Boards of Regents, some valuable works may not be purchased. Further, college libraries are generally embarrassed by the shortage of stack room and books no longer on the curricula are frequently discarded. Hence it is conceivable that even major religious works of past generations could be destroyed causing serious gaps in the historical picture. Therefore it falls to the Church archives to ensure the preservation of all such material which everyone would recognize as indispensable to the understanding of the life and work of the Church.

The maintenance of this material is a major administrative problem for it must be preserved from loss or damage through fire, dampness or negligence and at the same time made available for all persons having a right to its use. The material must be maintained according to the best archival principles of filing, cataloguing and indexing; otherwise, valuable hours will be wasted in fruitless searching for data, and students, and historians will have little confidence that all extant material bearing on their study has been placed at their disposal. The major archival holdings of the Church will be those which have reference to the Church as a whole, and they should be located in the same city as the denomination headquarters, preferably on the campus of a university, and, if possible, related to the Church History department of a theological college. In a country such as ours it is impracticable and undesirable to concentrate the entire archives of the Church at one centre, for some documents and records should be collected at a centre within the province to which they relate. Such a system fosters the interest of the local groups in their history and at the same time provides facilities for historical research without the prohibitive expense of travelling to a distant centre. A master index of the holdings of all such centres must be maintained at the central archives, so that the Church archivist knows the nature and extent of material available for historical studies, and can advise researchers of the location of documents held at places other than his own centre. Only under such a system can the Church establish and maintain an archival organization adequate to meet the needs of historical research.

Our nation is in the midst of its greatest period of expansion, and the resources of the Church are greatly taxed in the effort to keep pace with this development. But the very fact of this expansion makes the collection and maintenance of our archives imperative, for in the transfer of people from one area to another documents which for decades have lain unmolested in attics and cupboards are frequently destroyed. The Church in Canada must act now to save further losses of irreplacable historical documents. It must also encourage students and historians to engage in historical research, in order to recapture its witness to those things which God has wrought through and on behalf of this people.

Book Reviews

The Purpose of the Church and its Ministry. By H. Richard Niebuhr. New York: Harpers, 1956. Pp. 134. $2.50.

This is the first part of a report concerning "The Study of Theological Education in the United States and Canada." Financed by the Carnegie Foundation and under the leadership of the American Association of Theological Colleges, a study centre was set up to examine the presuppositions and character of theological education in general, and to consider the methods and effectiveness of theological colleges in the discharge of their responsibilities. The study is focussed on "Protestant" theological schools in the U.S. and Canada although the boundaries of the investigation extend more widely at certain points (references are made to theological education beyond North America and occasionally mention is made of theological education in the Roman Catholic Church). Under primary consideration are schools federated in the American Association of Theological Colleges but other schools, not members of the Association, have cooperated freely. Detailed information from all these schools was collected and correlated, three regional conferences were held (including one in Toronto), scores of interviews were arranged with seminary deans, faculty members, and a select list of clergy. In other words, the study staff, directed by Richard Niebuhr, carried out both an extensive and intensive investigation over a fifteen month period. A good deal of their report will be purely factual but this initial volume is chiefly concerned with principles and aims of theological education and, therefore, serves as a kind of introduction to the whole study.

Both the pressure of opportunity confronting the North American churches and the fact of widespread discontent with the present pattern of theological education make this report of special interest and importance. Since there is such a complexity of factors surrounding the isolated question of theological education, one should probably not expect much more from this treatise than a clarification of the central issues and principles. In brief compass, this is what Niebuhr sets out to do. He analyses certain theological trends relating to the doctrine of the Church and the ministry and then assesses the functioning of theological colleges with respect to these newly emerging ideas. One might hope to find a little more excitement in the pages of this book but even if Niebuhr's manner of presentation lacks a certain sparkle, at least there is fresh thought moulding traditional ideas and a determination to be honest and realistic in dealing with problems confronting the churches and theological colleges.

The first part of the book considers the Church and its purpose. The "free enterprise" character of American Protestantism may prevent people from

recognizing the increasing pressure towards unity, says Niebuhr. As evidence of this pressure, he points to the important work of the inter-denominational schools; the non-denominational character of much theological study and of most theological libraries; and the common ground that has been broken in practical fields like Christian education and pastoral training. This gradual growth towards unity, which is often not consciously recognized or articulated, is one of the notable theological trends of our time, according to Niebuhr. Opinion will vary about the relative pace and significance of this trend but presumably its reality will not be questioned. Niebuhr's point is that the Church in which men are being trained is increasingly recognized as something much wider than any particular denomination.

What then is the character of this wider Church? Niebuhr feels that the answer to this question has yet to be worked out but he offers some tentative suggestions of his own. It is necessary, he says, to distinguish the Church from the rule and realm of God but it is also necessary to recognize that the Church is indispensable in human relations to God.

> The Church is not the only community directed towards the divine reality; its uniqueness lies in its particular relation to that reality, a reality inseparable from Jesus Christ. It is related to God through Jesus Christ, first in the sense that Jesus Christ is the centre of this community directed toward God; the Church takes its stand with Jesus Christ before God and knows Him, though with many limitations, with the mind of Christ. Secondly, in that situation there is made available to it, or revealed to it, a characteristic and meaning in the Object—the divine reality—unknown from other perspectives, namely, the reconciling nature and activity of God who is Father and Son, and also Holy Spirit . . . [page 20].

At certain points, the author is close to a statement of the nature of the Church based on a doctrine of the Incarnation, but in the final analysis, he prefers a kind of paradox or polar theory which says on the one hand that the only symbol of God which can be tolerated is the symbol of emptiness (the empty Holy of Holies) and yet, on the other hand, "unless the Word becomes flesh over and over again . . . there is no human relation to the infinite" (page 25). One can appreciate Niebuhr's fear of idolatry on the one side and his desire to recognize the implications of creation and Incarnation on the other, but to describe this kind of "polarity" as an ultimate characteristic of the Church will strike many as unsatisfactory. If Niebuhr's doctrine of the Church could be reformulated at this point without the resort to paradox it might further clarify his analysis of the Church as community and institution. In his discussion of this "polarity," he points out that an institution is as inseparable from community as language is from thought. And just as this point shatters some of the less helpful arguments of the past about whether the Church is visible or invisible, surely the fact that the Church is a "new creation" in Christ (a point that Niebuhr doesn't quite make), the fact that the Church is a "royal priesthood, a holy nation" (by virtue of the Incarnation) enables us to see the Church (both

community and institution) in a sacramental light. Undoubtedly, our understanding of this point will control our concept of the ministry.

Niebuhr defines the purpose of the Church as the "increase of the love of God and neighbour." This definition has the advantage of being simple and being biblical. As Niebuhr expounds it, it also appears to have the advantage of including all the particular objectives which, from time to time, have been defined as the objectives of the Church. For instance, it resolves, or perhaps transcends, the debate between those who define the goal of the Church as the personal salvation of souls and those who see it as the realization of the redeemed society. It points beyond a pious devotion to Scripture (which can become a form of idolatry for the Protestants) or a pious devotion to the Church (which can become a form of idolatry for Catholics). "In the language of Christianity," says Niebuhr, "love of God and neighbour is both law and gospel; it is both the requirement laid on man by the Determiner of all things and the gift given. . . . When all is said and done, the increase of this love of God and neighbour remains the purpose and hope of our preaching of the gospel, of all our church organization and activity, of all our ministry, of all our efforts to train men for the ministry, of Christianity itself" (page 39).

This first section of the book is designed to survey the context of theological education. What the author has defined as the nature and purpose of the Church is what he believes to be the real context of theological education. In practice, however, its context is often much narrower. "Denominationalism," he says, "and not the denominations; ecclesiasticism, not the churches; biblicism, not the Bible; Christism, not Jesus Christ; these represent the chief present perversions and confusions in Church and theology . . . there is no way to eliminate by any single movement of reformation the temptations and failures from which the last rebirth can alone set us free. But unless the forms in which idolatries appear at any particular time are illuminated and criticized, there is no prospect for ultimate health" (page 47). Niebuhr's formulation of a doctrine of the Church is far from being complete (nor does it pretend to be) but it does raise questions which have to be reckoned with if American protestantism is going to be more than a "filling station" religion which adds a vague kind of piety to our North American way of life.

The next section of the book deals with "the emerging new conception of the ministry." There have been times when a definite conception of the ministry prevailed: the "Pastoral Rule" of Gregory the Great formulated one classical theory of the ministry; the Council of Trent formulated another; the reformers provided still another. These conceptions were not forced by legislation; they grew out of certain traditions. In our own time, however, there is no such overruling conception of the ministry. There is in fact great confusion about the work of the ministry, the nature of a call to the ministry, the authority of the ministry, and the scope of the ministry.

Through all this confusion, Niebuhr detects a newly-emerging idea, the idea of the pastoral director.

> In his work as pastoral director, the minister carries on the traditional functions of the ministry: preaching, administering the sacraments; leading worship, caring for souls, but underlying all this work is his concern for the building up of the body of the Church so that it may do its work in the community and the world. . . (This orientation) is at its best more inclusively biblical than evangelical only; it is directed indeed to sinful men who need to be reconciled to God but also to men who need in all things to grow up into mature manhood in the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ [page 82].

It is also, of course, a ministry directly related to the purpose of the Church as Niebuhr has defined it. And as far as vocation is concerned, it is a ministry which places a great emphasis on the "call" of the Church and on what Niebuhr calls the "providential call" (which comes through the equipment of a person with talents necessary to do a certain work). The secret call is still important but according to the author, the divine action through which men are chosen for their work is less "spiritualistically" understood today than in the recent past. It is more like the call of Stephen than of Paul. As for the authority behind this kind of ministry, Niebuhr says it must include all the kinds of authority associated with the office in the past—institutional, scriptural, spiritual etc.—but "communal authority" now becomes of greatest importance. What Niebuhr means by this is the authority of the Church in the widest and most complete meaning of the word. Modern biblical scholarship has shown that the relation between the scriptures and community (in both the Old and New Testaments) is much more intimate than protestants once realized. "For this and other reasons, the best biblical preaching going on in the churches today undertakes to interpret the Word of God as a word spoken to Israel and the Church" (page 87). Thus scriptural and communal authority are seen in a kind of fusion. Moreover, communal authority must be understood in relation to the tradition of the Church. Tradition in this sense is not the dead weight of conservatism but a "living history constantly being renewed." At its best, therefore, "communal authority speaks in contemporary language and to contemporary needs out of the long experience and painfully gathered wisdom of the Christian centuries" (page 89). In the final analysis, this must mean the authority of the Holy Spirit. Niebuhr doesn't say that but presumably it must be implied. The authority of the community ultimately must rest on the power of God.

In relation to those whom he serves, the minister (under this new conception) finds himself not ministering exclusively to the saved and not personally responsible for ministering to the needs of the community outside the church, but rather acting as the responsible leader of the parish church. It is in fact the Church as a whole which is recognized as being the ministering community whose work extends into every province of life and

the world. This is certainly a notable trend in contemporary Christian thought, evidence of which can be found in every quarter. One must, therefore, recognize a great degree of truth in this part of Niebuhr's analysis and the fact that this wider notion of pastoral direction seems to be growing is probably the point to stress. On the other hand, those who understand the ministry in a sacramental light, those who see worship as the ultimate expression of the Church's work are bound to feel that Niebuhr's case is incomplete, and his perspective slightly less than clear. This, of course, is a point of distinction that goes back to the doctrine of the Church but even in suggesting this qualification, one is impressed with how close Niebuhr's understanding of the Church and ministry comes to what seems to be emerging in certain "Catholic" quarters. This in itself may well mark a unifying trend in contemporary Christian thought.

In the light of what has been said concerning the Church and the ministry, what appraisal can be made of the work of theological seminaries and how can their function be defined? Niebuhr first comments on the inertia and conservatism of theological schools, a conservatism which largely reflects an uncertainty of aim and method. Certain problems which he points to are particularly conspicuous. Courses of theological study tend to lack integration. The relation between biblical study, systematic theology, pastoral theology etc. is frequently never grasped by the student and sometimes little effort is made to establish it. Many courses on Bible are given at every seminary but often a student will graduate quite unsure about the character of biblical authority and rather perplexed about the use of biblical material. Extra courses in practical fields have been added in great number over the past few years and these often leave the student with scraps of information and techniques that fit into no particular plan or over-ruling purpose. In other words, confusion as to the work of the ministry is both reflected and perpetuated in theological schools. This means that the enterprise of theological education has to be carefully reformulated if clergy are to be equipped to face the responsibilities that confront them in parish life. This is all the more urgent since the pressures of secular life often reformulate the work of a minister for him and the direction which it takes may have very little connection with the extension of the Kingdom of God. It is clear from what has been said earlier that the problem is one in which the whole Church is involved and the theological colleges should not be assigned anything more than a share of the responsibility.

In the midst of all this confusion, the author detects certain encouraging signs. He finds evidence that the Bible is being studied increasingly as a part of theology (without repudiating the critical and historical approach) and that the concern for theology "as a search for human wisdom about the wisdom of God" is increasingly reflected in the study not only of systematic theology but also of ethics, pastoral theology and Christian education. Along with the deeper understanding of the Church that accom-

panies this orientation is a greater freedom and willingness to listen to the claims and contentions of the secular world. One might gather from all this that Niebuhr has contradicted what he said earlier but it must be understood that these "hopeful signs" are far from being universal. Possibly (and this is Niebuhr's hope), they mark a growing trend.

How, then, is the work of a theological school to be defined? It must be understood in two ways, according to the author. First of all, as a particular institution within the life of the Church, its function must be directly related to the over-all work of the Church. That is, it must be a community concerned with the increase of the love of God and neighbour, a community in a particularly opportune position and with a particular responsibility to exercise the intellectual love of God. Secondly, it is a community which serves the Church by bringing its intellectual strength to bear on all the problems and activities in which the Church is involved. Training and experience in both these areas constitute the necessary preparation for the ministry. The responsibilities of the Church with respect to the first of these objectives probably needs to be taken far more seriously than they generally are. This is not to suggest that a seminary is a place for the cultivation of an artificial form of piety. The point is that the experience of the Church as community (and therefore the deeper understanding of the Church as community) must be a central part in the training of the pastoral director, minister, priest—whatever name may be applied to him. The theological college cannot be turned into the Kingdom of God by establishing some new rules or by revising the curriculum but it will be a greater power in the life of the Church and provide the Church with better trained clergy when it becomes more than (not less than) an academic school. The very character of theological study, as Niebuhr points out, diminishes the distance between teacher and student in such a way that they become joined in a common concern. The community is therefore constituted, not by teachers on the one hand and students on the other: it is constituted by both in their relation to the Object and objects of theological study. The degree to which a theological college becomes this kind of community reflects the seriousness with which it accepts the real purpose of the Church, and will determine in part at least the dimension of training it provides for those who are called to be leaders of the Church. The activity of this community as it reflects upon God's revelation of himself to man, and as it studies and explores the meaning and experience of Christian life through the centuries, and brings this wisdom to bear on the problems of contemporary life and the responsibilities of the Church, would then constitute the fulfilment of the second objective of theological education.

One final qualification is, however, necessary. The activity of study, reflection, analysis must constantly return to the concrete reality of life. Part of this reality will obviously be provided by the actual community itself, the problems and tensions that arise within it and by its activities of

prayer and worship. But there is a widely recognized need for further practical training, field work, etc. Presumably, this kind of training (not at the expense of reflective and analytical study) is crucial in the training of a pastoral director. But Niebuhr points to the contradiction which emerges when the objects of field work (why not call it Church work? he asks) are turned into instruments of training. This kind of approach is a denial of the essential work and method of the Church, Niebuhr thinks. This is a necessary warning because practical training can certainly turn into training in mere techniques but on the other hand, it is surely absurd to think of the minister as a pastoral director when all his training has been in a theological library. And surely reflection and analysis on the experience of field work, clinical training etc. is as valid and necessary as reflection and analysis on any other area of theological training. In fact, it would seem that the absence of such study and analysis of pastoral experience (in the context of full theological study) represents one of the great weaknesses in the present program of ministerial training.

It has already been emphasized that this book is just an introduction to the principles, aims, and problems of theological education. Even though it is brief, it cannot be quickly digested partly because it raises problems which have not been solved and which are so immediate that they cannot be ignored. One may hope that it will spark a good deal of thought in the minds of both theological educators and parish clergy.

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The Eastern Schism. By Steven Runciman. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1955. Pp. vii, 189. $3.25.

In his latest work, the noted crusade historian Steven Runciman has undertaken to describe the gradual alienation of Greek and Latin Christendom which hardened into open schism during the High Middle Ages. This is a complex historical problem. There were, to be sure, important doctrinal and ecclesiastical factors: differences in usage and discipline, and the endless debates over the Procession of the Spirit. Above all, there was a fundamental disagreement between the Greek and Latin Churches over the proper seat of authority within the Body of Christ. To the Eastern christian, the Church was committed to the decisions of the Ecumenical Councils, governed by the five patriarchal sees, among which Rome was accorded a primacy of honour and leadership. Exercising a vague suzerainty over all was the Emperor at Constantinople, the leader of Christian society, the vice-regent of God on earth. To the Latin christian, the Papacy was the leader of Christendom, possessing a power supreme in faith, morals and discipline, competent to set aside the decrees of Councils and to guide and even to cast down all earthly powers, spiritual and temporal. Nevertheless, im-

portant as such ecclesiastical issues were, they cannot be separated from other factors which worked to create the Schism. The eleventh and twelfth centuries saw the struggle of the Byzantine Empire against both the Italian Normans and the maritime cities of northern Italy for the political and economic hegemony of the eastern Mediterranean. Finally, and perhaps the most potent of all, were those racial and cultural antagonisms between Greek and Latin whose roots extend far back into the history of the Church in the pre-Nicene era.

Faced with such difficulties in historical analysis, the historian of the Schism might well choose one particular aspect of the problem as fundamental to all others. This Runciman has refused to do. He has adopted a method more descriptive than analytical, plotting the emergence of the Schism step by step through the centuries, giving weight as the facts dictate to first one group of tensions and then another. Notable in all this is Runciman's fair and balanced judgment. True, his sympathies are marked, mostly in favour of the Greeks. However, this is a welcome change from many previous writers who adopted, explicitly or otherwise, the traditional western and Roman interpretation of the Schism.

The first of these eight lectures offers an excellent sketch of the diverse development of Greek and Latin Christendom after the collapse of the Roman imperial power in the West. The Churches of these two diverging societies were slowly but inexorably drawn apart, the separation due in no small measure to the Moslem conquest of the Mediterranean which made all communication between East and West difficult and uncertain. Throughout these centuries, there was a series of unpleasant incidents between the Popes of Rome and the Emperors and Patriarchs of Constantinople. Such incidents served to increase bitter feeling, a bitterness which reached a climax in the excommunication in 1054 of Michael Cerularius, the ambitious Patriarch of Constantinople, by the arrogant and irresponsible Cardinal Humbert, legate of the Roman Church.

Concerning that particular event, Runciman has summarized the research of many scholars, showing that the incident was not the final irremediable breach which we had hitherto supposed it to be. For his part, Runciman emphasizes the role of the Crusades in creating an open schism between the Churches. To the Greeks, the Crusades seemed to be an attempt by the Latins to encircle the Greek Empire and its Church. To the Latins, the religio-political activities of the Greek emperors were more and more the actions of confirmed schismatics and traitors to Christendom. All previous tensions between East and West were raised to the breaking point. Each side now took up firm positions. The charitable generosity of the Papacy towards the Greeks during the days of Gregory VII and Urban II was replaced by greater suspicion of the Greek Church and by a more unyielding and unimaginative insistence on the prerogatives of the Apostolic See and the duty of giving uniform submission to Latin faith and practice. The friendly Greek tolerance for the Latin crusader as his misguided and rather

barbaric fellow christian was finally transformed into the attitude of such men as the Greek canonist Theodore Balsamon who at the close of the twelfth century barred the Latins from communicating at Greek altars.

At certain points, Runciman's treatment may be questioned. The change in Gregory VII's attitude towards the Greeks is not described with sufficient clarity, a development so important for the proper understanding of the policies which his successors adopted towards the Eastern Church. Again, it is unlikely that Alexius I and Urban II were as seriously interested in uniting the two Churches as they were in achieving a diplomatic rapprochement advantageous to both. Or again, Paschal II was not quite as anti-Byzantine as Runciman has described him to be. The evidence that Paschal supported Bohemund of Antioch's great attack on the Byzantine Empire in 1107–1108 is quite incomplete. Finally, perhaps Runciman has over-emphasized the role of Balsamon in creating the Schism from the Greek side. Did not this influential canonist merely raise to the level of canon law the hostile practices which the Greek Church had been developing against the Latins for more than a century?

However, the fundamental criticism of this book must be directed against Runciman's approach to the problem. Because of his determination that the course of historical development on all levels must be allowed to speak for itself, there is a certain lack of focus which is disconcerting. What after all was the root of the matter? Careful reading of Runciman tends to re-inforce the conviction that the older view of the Schism still has much to commend it, i.e., that the fundamental reason for the break was the radical re-interpretation of the Roman primacy by Leo IX and his successors and the rejection of that interpretation by the Greeks. The spiritual and temporal deductions which the Papacy drew from this doctrine made all formal reconciliation between the two Churches impossible. Had such been possible, there is little doubt that the destructive elements introduced by the Crusades and other developments in twelfth century Mediterranean politics would have been restrained. Granted that the Crusades provided the occasion for the actual outbreak of schism, the problem of the relation between the Churches was set on its fatal course by the papal conception of its role as the supreme governor of human destinies in this world.

Such criticism is one of emphasis and approach and as such should not detract from the appreciation of a work which is the best short introduction to the subject in any language and which, fortunately, is in English. In conclusion, this book should be required reading for all concerned with ecumenical affairs, if only because it reminds us that behind doctrinal differences between churches there stand all too often those secret and unacknowledged animosities which are born of political, economic and cultural tension.

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Puritanism in Old and New England. By Alan Simpson. Chicago: University of Chicago Press (University of Toronto Press), 1955. Pp. 126. $3.00.

This little book is composed of six lectures delivered in 1954 at the University of Chicago under the Charles R. Walgreen Foundation for the Study of American Institutions. Professor Simpson disclaims any attempt to put forward novel, or even current, views on his topic. On the contrary he returns to the older historical tradition which sees in Puritanism "a species of Enthusiasm," and which places it in "the category of religious revivals." "The root of the matter," he writes, "is always a new birth, which brings with it a conviction of salvation, and a dedication to warfare against sin."

So defined, it is obvious that Puritanism has much in common with other revivals in the history of Christian culture. A number of acute comparisons and contrasts, particularly with the evangelical revival of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are set forward in the last lecture entitled "The Puritan Tradition." But the author's main concern is to deal with English Puritanism as a historical movement with a beginning and an end. Its origins, he writes, "are to be found among the Protestant Reformers of the mid-sixteenth century; it takes shape in the reign of Elizabeth; produces thrust after thrust of energy in the seventeenth century . . . and then ebbs away."

Viewing his topic in this fashion the author first shows how English Puritanism arose, how it differed from orthodox Anglicanism, and how it developed left, centre and right wing parties known as Separatists, Congregationalists and Presbyterians.

Next he describes how the Puritan, frustrated in his native land, attempted to create a "covenanted community," a new Israel, in New England. He demonstrates how this attempt led again to frustration as "successive waves of enthusiasm were broken on the resistant forces of human nature." He proceeds to point out how that some Puritans, faced with the failure to maintain a theocracy, discovered that the mission of the "saint" was to separate Church from State. This he does by discussing the life and ideas of Roger Williams and the development of religious toleration in Rhode Island.

The author then returns to old England, showing how there the Puritan recognized in the struggle between king and parliament an opportunity for building Jerusalem in that "green and pleasant land." He analyzes this further failure of Puritanism, terming it "a classic tragedy in the politics of enthusiasm."

But Professor Simpson's book is by no means a study in failure. If the author is aware of Puritan defects he also appreciates Puritan virtues. Among positive contributions made by Puritanism in the political sphere he lists those relating to the art of government, to education, to morality, and to the elimination of class warfare.

Puritanism in Old and New England is no exhaustive treatise. If it answers some questions clearly, and with commendable economy of words, it raises others which cannot be easily answered. To deal adequately in small compass with the majestic Way of Rejection in its political aspects alone, and in a brief period in English and American history, is manifestly impossible. Yet the reader will be instructed and diverted by this book which is pleasing both in its style and in its physical properties of type, paper and binding.

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Conscience in the New Testament. By C. A. Pierce. Toronto: Ryerson (London: S.C.M.), 1955. Pp. 151. $1.65.

This book is number 15 in the series "Studies in Biblical Theology" and is a shortened version of a B.D. Thesis accepted by the University of Cambridge. It is scholarly, accurate and original; and well deserves an advanced degree. Mr. Pierce defines the theme as: "A study of *Syneidesis* in the New Testament; in the light of its sources, and with particular reference to St. Paul: with some observations regarding its pastoral relevance today."

Paul introduced conscience into Christianity, but he did not, as many have supposed, borrow it from the Stoics. It comes from popular ethical thought and means "witnessing to oneself." Its background, especially in the verbal root, proves that normally it assumes a witness to something morally bad. Unless the opposite is explicitly stated, you can expect the conscience words to mean that one has done something naughty. The result is that one is or should be unhappy. Conscience is a prick; it is almost a nuisance; it makes one bother about what has been said or done or left undone and unsaid. This is what the author stresses over and over again: conscience comes into play whenever there is awareness of a wrong committed. As such, it belongs to human nature integrally; it refers to one's own self rather than another's, and to specific acts of the past. Conscience implants remorse in the soul. "Until bad action has been committed, or at least initiated, there is no syneidesis" (p. 50). The Old Testament and Apocrypha are not of much importance for "conscience"; it is a Hellenistic word.

Pauline usage is normative for the N.T. (see the analysis on pp. 62f.). It first appears in I Corinthians, because the Christians there kept throwing it in the Apostle's face! Paul takes it over as the internal correlate to the Wrath of God, the phrase that defines the divine reaction against sin and evil. (Pierce rightly denies Dodd's exegesis of the Wrath in his commentary on Romans.) At Corinth the meat offered to idols was a problem. "Eat it and ask no questions," says St. Paul. "If you were to discover that it was idol-meat, after you had eaten it, then you would suffer conscience" (p.

76). One ought to remember the little ones of the Body and do nothing to influence them to do what will produce the pain of conscience in themselves.

This means that conscience has its defects; if it comes into play only when the wrong is conceived or done, it has a merely negative function. Even the phrase "a good conscience" (I Pet. 3:16) means only that Christians should so behave that their conscience will have no subjects for reproach.

It is in Hebrews that we find the crown of the N.T. teaching about conscience. Worship is not truly possible if conscience remains to the religious. Christ made assurance of deliverance, because he really delivers from sin by his self-sacrifice. Thus we reach the position that a Christian has no right to have a conscience! He has died to sin; he has become part of Christ's eternal victory. Only if he is apostate or goes back on his faith, can he become again subject to his conscience. Contrast this N.T. usage with our popular way of speaking. Today conscience is the organ of moral choice. It regards the future; it weighs possible consequences. It incites one to do this rather than that. Conscience is thus the voice of God in the heart, the movement of the Spirit in our souls and hearts. Such a guide should be infallible. We honour people who act 'for conscience sake.' But in the N.T. conscience cannot justify; "it refers only to the past and particular; and to the acts of a man's own self alone" (p. 117).

The book has some defects. Readers will find the use of abbreviations rather trying (PTI, M, MB, MG, MBA, MBNeg, MB Norm., MPG) in the classification of the Greek evidence. The phrase "*pis aller*" too is badly overworked. There are printing slips at several places, e.g. 13, 18, 33, 44, 48, 49, 50, 56, 59, 69, 72, 95, 104 and the numbering of the notes on 129. We need to know what Osborne suggested in his article cited at p. 95 n. 5. It may also be questioned whether the New Testament usage should be allowed to prevent the extended modern use by which conscience has come to have a future reference as well as a past, to indicate the moral faculty of choice and the work of the divine Spirit in the enlightened. Pierce-Knut is not likely to turn that tide!

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The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology, edited by W. D. Davies and D. Daube. Cambridge, 1956. Pp. 554. $14.00.

When twenty-six scholars of seven nationalities, writing in three languages, contribute essays to the honour of one who has a fair claim to be the greatest of them all, we expect an impressive result, and we are not disappointed. Here is a book full of mature and stimulating scholarship, which will be part of the indispensable equipment of the New Testament student for many years to come; and a review can give only an inkling of its riches.

The book opens with a photograph and curriculum vitae of C. H. Dodd, to whom it is dedicated, and a bibliography of his works which includes 19 books, 18 contributions to books, 42 articles, 7 lectures, and 4 reviews.

The editors have tried to give unity to the essays which follow by concentrating on two fields with which the name of Dodd has been particularly associated. The attempt has been more successful in the second case than in the first. The ten essays on the background of the New Testament remain heterogeneous, but the sixteen essays on eschatology form a closely knit symposium in which each gains in usefulness by comparison with the others.

One of the most striking characteristics of Part I is the predominance of destructive criticism, which has the positive value of pointing the way to new research. We are taken up one cul-de-sac after another, shown a series of intriguing views, and returned firmly to the main road with instructions not to be beguiled from the way. In an excellent essay on exegesis E. C. Blackman, recognising the inadequacy of the liberal school of critics, deals severely with their successors—the fantasy exegesis of Farrer, the phantom liberalism of Bultmann, the typology of Vischer, the labyrinthine cross-references of Thornton—and summons us to a new devotion to historical criticism in the belief that to hear the biblical writings speak to the men of their own day is to hear them speak also to our own age. K. W. Clark surveys the progress of textual study and concludes that there has not yet emerged a satisfactory theory to integrate the wealth of new material into an intelligible pattern that could replace that of Westcott and Hort. R. P. Casey undertakes to show that in the New Testament *gnosis* means something quite different from what it meant to the Gnostics, so that, pace Dodd, there is no need to use documents from the second and third centuries to explain it. F. C. Grant in a careful review of recent studies on the economic life of the Roman Empire (including an extremely useful bibliography) shows that economic strain in no way accounts for the rise and spread of Christianity. W. D. Davies, after a graceful bow to Carrington's *Primitive Christian Catechism,* proceeds to a systematic demolition of his *Primitive Christian Calendar.* P. Katz demonstrates the need for more sustained work on the LXX, and makes a strong case in favour of a return to Lagarde's textual principles and against Kahle's theory that the LXX began as an uncoordinated group of targumic materials.

Other contributors to this section are H. Riesenfeld who discusses "The Mythological Background of New Testament Christology" (by myth he means metaphor), H. J. Schoeps who continues to champion the Ebionites, and W. F. Albright who gives an archaeological defence of the apostolic origin of the Fourth Gospel.

The most original and convincing essay in Part I is also the shortest. M. Black re-examines the account of the Essenes given by Hippolytus, generally thought to be a Christian adaptation of Josephus, and argues that Hippolytus was using not Josephus but Josephus' source, which he preserved more faithfully than Josephus himself.

Part II begins with the finest of tributes to Dodd, for T. W. Manson shows the unique part that Dodd has played in the development of modern New Testament studies. He starts from Schweitzer's statement that the only two courses open to New Testament scholarship were thoroughgoing scepticism or thoroughgoing eschatology, i.e. either Wrede's theory, since developed to greater lengths by Form Criticism, that a large part of the Gospel material had its origin in the needs of the early church, or his own theory that the ministry and teaching of Jesus were only a prologue to the real eschatological drama of the Son of man which Jesus himself expected to begin in the near future. Manson shows that both these roads—the Wredestrasse and the Schweitzerstrasse—would have led nowhere but for Dodd. Dodd's proof that an early *kerygma* underlay all the New Testament writings has answered the scepticism of the Form Critics, and his doctrine of realized eschatology, which declares that the ministry of Jesus was no prologue but the actual drama of God's saving reign, has opened the way to a truer understanding of New Testament theology.

It is tempting to follow through Manson's line of thought and to classify the other essays in the book according to the extent to which their authors have come to grips with Dodd's pioneer work. E. Stauffer appears to be travelling the Wredestrasse when he claims that Jesus repudiated eschatology altogether and is faithfully represented only in the Fourth Gospel. M. Goguel is following the Schweitzerstrasse when he declares that there were three stages of development in Jesus' attitude to the End (Mt.x.23; Mk.ix.1; Mk.xiii.32), and that Paul went through a similar development. Other writers who seem to be quite unaffected by Dodd's work are A. Feuillet, who tries to show that the Parousia in Matthew xxiv is not the final judgment but the historical judgment of Israel by the destruction of Jerusalem, and H. Clavier, who sets out to prove that the idea of "spiritual body" in I Corinthians xv.44 is much more complicated and confusing than we had hitherto supposed.

It is time, however, that we reckoned with Dodd's critics, for here is H. J. Cadbury, in an essay on "Acts and Eschatology," affirming that there is no adequate foundation for Dodd's theories of *kerygma* and realized eschatology and that "any collection of early Christian affirmations has an illusory homogeneity." Here too is R. Bultmann, questioning the validity of Dodd's statement that the revelation given in the events of biblical history forms a key to the understanding of all history. Bultmann objects that the events of history constitute a revelation only to the eyes of faith, and that revelation so given does not belong to history at all. Christ himself "stands beyond history, is himself the call of God and calls those who recognise him as Lord out of the world and outside of its history." We are dealing here with two fundamentally different conceptions of eschatology. To Dodd eschatology is the biblical interpretation of history, but to Bultmann the eschatological is the otherworldly which impinges upon history from without in an unrepeatable personal encounter.

The root of the difference between Dodd and Bultmann is the doctrine of creation, so to offset Bultmann's criticism we turn to N. A. Dahl who discusses the connection between eschatology and creation and shows that in biblical thought the end is related to the beginning in no less than five ways. Here is new light on an important aspect of our theme, and Dahl's analysis will repay the most diligent study.

Dodd has another defender against Bultmann's criticism in A. N. Wilder who is looking for a sound biblical basis for a social ethic. Following Kraemer's idea that the *kerygma* provides such a basis, he shows that even this idea has been distorted by Bultmann and others so as to prevent the development of a real ethic. He pleads for a Trinitarian conception of ethics which does equal justice to creation, incarnation and the guidance of the Spirit. He further suggests that the proper basis for social ethics is to be found in the idea of Christ's victory over the principalities and powers, which include the powers of the pagan state. I should be interested to know how he develops this fascinating theme, but at this point the binders have given me a second copy of pp. 513–528 in place of pp. 529–544.

Among those who owe an obvious debt to Dodd are E. G. Selwyn, O. Cullmann, E. Schweizer, and C. F. D. Moule. Selwyn shows that I Peter stands in the central New Testament tradition of realized eschatology. Christians live in grace but not yet in glory, though the glory for which they wait is the known glory of Christ which already sheds its radiance on their path. Cullmann addresses himself to the question, "Does the expectation of the end paralyse the missionary impulse?" and answers that "missions are an essential element in the eschatological divine plan of salvation." Schweizer believes that realized eschatology is the distinguishing feature between Christian doctrine concerning the Spirit and the doctrine of the Spirit as a permanent moral influence in man found in Zoroastrianism, certain Jewish sects and Gnosticism. Moule shows that the sacraments fit into the pattern of realized eschatology by anticipating the final judgment. Baptism is the once-for-all acceptance of the death sentence on human sin, which Christ on the Cross accepted vicariously. The Lord's Supper is the renewal of this experience of communion in the death of Christ. It is possible either by apostasy (denial of baptism) or by insensitivity to the meaning of Christ's death to contract out of this voluntary judgment and so to come under God's final judgment, but for those who remain in the communion of Christ's death the final judgment is already past.

There is an interesting conflict over Hebrews. J. Héring assumes that the author was attempting a synthesis between Platonic idealism and biblical eschatology and that he failed like Philo before him and Origen after him. C. K. Barrett argues strongly that the doctrine of two worlds in Hebrews is drawn entirely from eschatology and owes nothing to Plato.

Of all the essays the one which seems to come nearest to Dodd's own stature is that by G. Bornkamm on eschatology and the church in Matthew's Gospel. The whole thought of Matthew is dominated by the divine demand

for righteousness. The church is the community of those who are called to show in their works a righteousness that will be tested in the imminent judgment. This righteousness has been exemplified by Jesus in his life of obedience, humility, and service, and is made possible for others if as his disciples they learn from him the secret of his own life. His righteousness is the fulfilment of the whole law, but is higher than that of the Pharisees because he goes behind the letter of the law to ask what is the ultimate will of God which the law enshrines. The whole nature and authority of the church consists in its obedience to this declared will of God, which means for those who accept it persecution and suffering; and it is Matthew's intention that even the promise to Peter should be seen in this context of discipleship which leads through suffering to the ultimate glory of the Parousia.

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Faith, Reason and Existence. By John A. Hutchison. New York: Oxford University Press, 1956. Pp. 306. $4.50.

A Copernican revolution in religious thought has been produced in the last three decades through the theology of Barth, Brunner, the Niebuhrs, Tillich, Buber, Maritain and others. So creative a theological movement, contends Dr. Hutchison, demands a restatement of the philosophy of religion, relating it to the categories which the new theology has found most adequate for understanding the deeper dimensions of human existance. The present work is a highly competent attempt to meet this need, and is written by one who is explicitly affiliated with the new ways of theology, particularly with its American representatives. But this is not to say that the author is the mere mouthpiece of a school: he believes that the task of a philosopher of religion is to articulate and appraise all religious ideas critically, and describes unthinking faith as "a curious offering to be made to the creator of the human mind."

He begins with a definition of the method and task of Philosophy of Religion. Traditionally, it was assumed that reason is competent to undertake the exposition and defence of religion. Today this assumption is questioned from the side of philosophy by logical positivists who assert that no meaningful statement can be made about religion; and from the side of religion by theological positivists such as Barth who claim that only a truncated and distorted form of religion can find expression in a philosophy of religion. Those who share the author's conviction that religion needs critical evaluation and that philosophy needs the stimulus of religious imagination must agree with him that "the current divorce between philosophy and religion is doubly tragic" (p. 4). He seeks therefore to re-

establish lines of communication between philosophy and religion. In fact, the author suggests that the whole book may be regarded as an essay in definition of both philosophy and religion (p. 23). Tension between philosophy and religion is inevitable because of a basic difference of attitude—the difference between an attitude of question-asking and one of question-answering. Yet there remains a fundamental kinship not only in that both have to do with the whole of reality, but in that "all philosophies have religious foundations and all religions have philosophic implications" (pp. 28–29). The tension that exists should therefore be creative. Dr. Hutchison's thesis is that the most creative application of philosophic inquiry to religious or theological statements is through the existential method (as against the methods of authority, intuition, rationalism or empiricism): that is, "testing propositions by their conformity to facts encountered by human selves in active existence" (p. 31).

The essence of the self on this account consists in action rather than contemplation; even philosophising is an activity. Thus the nature of man is not to be regarded as a fixed reality but as "a question to be answered or a potentiality to be realised" (p. 65). As questions should precede their answers, Dr. Hutchison begins with man as a question, and proceeds to God as the answer. The key question here, one of fundamental importance to the whole inquiry, is: "What meaning, if any, can be given to the term freedom?" Freedom is rooted in man's capacity for self-transcendence; from this follow self-determination and object-determination, which together describe human freedom. The author upholds William Temple's positive definition of freedom in terms of spiritual determination rather than the mere absence of determination. This view of freedom has important implications for the doctrine of God, whose service the Bible describes as perfect freedom.

Thus in the next two chapters, God is approached as the answer to the question of man under the headings "Faith, Revelation and God" and "The Significance of Rational Theology." In the faith-reason controversy, Dr. Hutchison defends the position that faith is primary and includes reason. Appealing to philosophers as diverse as Kierkegaard and Kant, he concludes that "thinking is a form of doing, and not vice versa" (p. 101) and proceeds from the primacy of action to the primacy of faith which underlies action. From current existentialism the author draws the figure that man is fundamentally a participant rather than a spectator. Biblical religion then may be said to consist in the experience of being laid hold upon by a power conceived as absolute (revelation) and responding in trustful obedience to this power (faith). It is within this context of revelation and faith that the term God becomes religiously significant. The relation between God and man is thus personal and therefore characterized by freedom and love. All forms of religion which lack this characterisation are accordingly rejected. The author makes an illuminating distinction between a *confessional* and a *dogmatic* attitude in religion. The dogmatist speaks from the grandstand and

declares: "This is the way things are; if you don't agree, I'll force the truth down your throat." The confessional attitude is expressed from the playing field: "This is the way things look from where I stand; in these terms I will play out the game. Come stand with me and see if you agree with my view . . ." (p. 122). The confessional attitude is commended as one which does justice to the particularity of a religion of revelation, yet seeks ways of communication with other faiths and philosophies which attempt to define the meaning of existence.

In his interpretation of the proofs of rational theology, Dr. Hutchison maintains that the cosmological and teleological arguments are basically forms of the ontological. He agrees with Anselm that the ontological argument alone provides an adequate philosophic formulation of the theistic faith in a transcendent-immanent God. While verification in the usual sense is not possible in this realm, so long as man is a creature of mind as well as will, rational inquiry is inevitable and legitimate. Theologians who attack rational theology must be required to make their own assumptions of faith overt and explicit. While God cannot be proved, rational theology has the legitimate ancillary task of exhibiting the rational structure of theism, of describing human experience from the theistic point of view. The present book is an effort at verification in this sense.

The author then turns his attention to the relation between Biblical faith and history. Here again freedom is a key concept. Positivist historians, in failing to take account of human freedom, err in reducing history to nature. In his analysis of the Marxist philosophy of history Dr. Hutchison offers the salutary reminder that much popular criticism of Marxist materialism is wide of the mark, inasmuch as it is not mechanistic but dialectical materialism. He further points out that Marxist philosophy is less accurately characterized as moral cynicism than in terms of an idolatrous kind of moral idealism. Not atheism but idolatry is the most serious Christian charge against Marxism. And though it claims to be a purely scientific interpretation, the Marxist version of history is shown to parallel in significant respects the religious interpretation of Christianity.

Finally, the relations between religion and culture, science and ethics are dealt with. The hope for a Christian culture is regarded as futile; the relation of biblical religion to culture is conceived in terms of criticism and creation. The author rejects logical positivism's facile divorce between science and religion, affirming that when science and religion are conceived in a relationship of means and end, a fruitful working partnership can be achieved. Biblical religion, in understanding man's chief end in terms of action rather than contemplation, has promoted the scientific undertaking to control nature. The major commandment of Christian ethics, on the other hand, has to do with attitude or character rather than action: only when regarded in this sense can it be absolute. The recurrent theme of the book finds expression again as the author declares that biblical religion is essentially ethical, for God is not a passionless Absolute but Sovereign Will,

and the purpose of man is not primarily contemplation but to do the will of God. The content of this will is ethical action, he argues; but a completed social ethic is not possible, for love is never a simple possibility.

The author's indebtedness to his American teachers will be obvious from this analysis, but he maintains a critical independence throughout. And although the book lacks the imaginative originality of the most creative works of the great contemporary minds, it is by no means a mere survey of modern thought but a genuine re-interpretation of the Philosophy of Religion in the light of the contributions to philosophy and theology of the seminal minds of our age. His own originality lies in his drawing out of the implications of certain great concepts such as that of man as agent for the various dimensions of thought and existence. While he owes much to existentialism and explicitly adopts the existential method (p. 32) he is severely critical of existential philosophy which "retains only the empty and bare form of decision, which frequently lacks any actual human content" (p. 227).

This is hardly a popular work, but it is sufficiently readable to prove useful to the layman who seeks to be informed, and thus fulfils the purpose avowed by the author in the Foreword. Moreover, it is sufficiently systematic to prove useful as a textbook for the professional who shares the author's sympathy for the school of thought here represented. In providing what Reinhold Niebuhr has called "the most searching, balanced and authoritative modern conception of the relationship of faith to reason which we have had in a long time," Dr. Hutchison has replied effectively to those who question the legitimacy or necessity of a Philosophy of Religion.

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The Key to Ephesians. By Edgar J. Goodspeed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press (University of Toronto Press), 1956. Pp. xvi, 75. $2.50.

This is Professor Goodspeed's latest statement of his theory of the origin and nature of the Epistle to the Ephesians, which is now widely accepted. In the introductory pages, he offers a lucid and cogent argument in support of the hypothesis; in the remainder of the book he presents in parallel columns, in the English of the American Standard Version of 1901, first the text of Ephesians, then the parallels from Colossians, and on the opposite page the parallels from other Pauline letters. The same table of parallels is given in the Greek text in his fundamental study, *The Meaning of Ephesians*, published in 1933. The present work takes account of some criticisms that have appeared in the interval, as well as of a number of subsidiary studies which have lent it support.

The reviewer must confess that he finds it impossible to understand how any serious student of the epistle can still maintain, in the face of the

evidence presented by Goodspeed and his supporters, that Paul is the author; but it must be admitted that a good number of first class critical scholars are still prepared to defend its authenticity. The evidence is here spread out before us. Let each examine it for himself and draw his own conclusion.

F. W. Beare

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BOOKS RECEIVED

(Inclusion of titles in this list neither ensures nor precludes subsequent review in this journal)

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Bryden, W. W. *Separated unto the Gospel.* Toronto: Burns & MacEachern, 1956. Pp. xiv, 218. $3.00.

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THORNTON, L. S. *Christ and the Church*; being the third part of a treatise on *The Form of the Servant*. Westminster: Dacre Press, 1956. Pp. xv, 151. $3.50.

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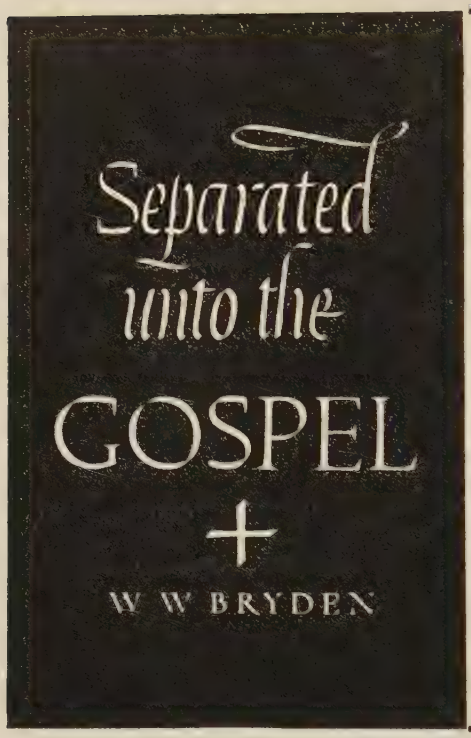

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Editorial

OUR SECOND BIRTHDAY

WE present ourselves in this number as a two-year-old, believing that our friends will be interested in our second anniversary. We like to think of our readers not as mere spectators of our efforts but as associates with us in a joint theological and religious enterprise, and we offer greetings and thanks for support to one and all.

We speak unashamedly of *support*, because, while we hope to live by the intrinsic merits of the goods we purvey, the real measure of our success is the degree to which we create an expanding circle of friends actively engaged in furthering theological discussion, understanding and achievement throughout Canada. The proposed Canada Council is a sign of an awakening country. Our purpose is to stir devotion to and receive guidance from theology, the queen of the sciences, and to do the kind of service, Christian and ecumenical, visionary and practical, that only a journal of this kind can do in the nation. It will be seen that we have no doubts about the necessity of our mission. Therefore, while not yet satisfied with our performance, we speak unashamedly of support and solicit it more and more widely, because we desire to draw as many as possible into the common task. Our organization is completely voluntary in its personnel, and consists of people who already carry more than their load in other fields. They, our contributors, and Colleges and friends who have dipped into their pockets for our sakes, supply the life-blood by which we live. As on behalf of our readers and ourselves we gratefully acknowledge their labour, we trust that our third year will increasingly demonstrate to them that it is all supremely worth while, by eliciting a growingly active response.

One of the things we have learned in these two years is that more needs to be done than we expected by way of stirring and fostering writers. The urge towards self-expression is too dormant in the theological world. This fact touches the nature and quality of the articles we are able to print and also the extensiveness of the sources upon which we draw. We are very anxious not to be too dependent for articles upon members of the Editorial Committee and their friends, for that will mean too much dependence upon the area in which it holds its meetings. Problems of distance, which so greatly affect Canadian activities, need have little or no effect upon a production of our kind. There are groups all over the Dominion—ministerial, collegiate, in private coteries, in student bodies—in which papers are read and discussion held, not to speak of the quiet thought and reading that go on in many a study. Surely there is much available that a wider circle would be glad to benefit by. We appeal to our readers to send in contributions and to encourage their friends to do so, for the sake of making ownership in the

Journal really nation-wide. This kind of support is essential not only to the fulfilment of our task as we conceive it, but to our very existence. We want to stir theological *writing*.

Perhaps a Birthday Number should make some reference to achievements. No small thing has been accomplished in the creation of the *Journal*. We have been given a very kind welcome and have received much appreciation of the high general quality of our articles. We are fortunate beyond words in having the University of Toronto Press as our printers. The handsome format they gave the *Journal* and the accuracy and good taste of their work made an immediate appeal at home and abroad. In addition they maintain personal relations of a kind that has produced in us a high esteem.

Our circulation stands in round figures at thirteen hundred. A hundred and fifty or so did not renew their subscriptions after the first year. It is inevitable that some would find that they had mistaken the character and purpose of the *Journal*. These losses have been offset by the new subscriptions that steadily come in. We are at the moment in the middle of another renewal period, and find, as a good sign, that most renewals are now for two years. If subscribers would renew more promptly, they would help to save the need for a second billing, which is expensive and time-wasting. Some subscribers have warmed our hearts by adding personal donations, without which at the moment we can not continue. If we could achieve the three thousand mark—which should be easily attained in a Canada numbering sixteen millon people—the *Journal* would carry itself. We want very much to increase our size and at the same time the variety of our fare, not least by extending our book-review section. We are now engaged in searching hard for people who can write in the fields of Biblical exposition and practical affairs and have a special sub-committee at work on the matter.

We offer warm thanks to the many who in different ways are furthering our project, and trust that we may count on an increasing number of friends to write for us and to extend our circle of readers.

As from this date, new subscriptions and renewals should be sent to the University of Toronto Press, Toronto, who are taking over for us this side of our organisation. Cheques for subscriptions and renewals should be made out to University of Toronto Press, payable at par in Toronto. We are glad to have this service from the Press. Control of the *Journal*, financial and other, remains unchanged.

D. W. H.

Baptists and Tradition

RUSSELL F. ALDWINCKLE

WHEN Christ and the Apostle Paul denounced men who obscured the truth of God by their traditions (Matt. 15:2–6, Mark 7:3–14, Gal. 1:14, Col. 2:8), neither of them appears to have had in mind the exact problem we face when we look at Scripture and Tradition. We come closer to our field when St. Paul writes about "the traditions" (2 Thess. 2:15, 3:6), since we may assume that he had doctrinal (or kerygmatic) rather than moral or liturgical matters in mind. We assume that he was referring to such matters as "Jesus is Lord" (I Cor. 12:3) and the saving faith and confession he mentions in Romans 10:9–10. But even he did not face our problem, of a church in possession of a canon of Scripture, with historic creeds that claim to be apostolic (without any historical evidence that is completely convincing), and of various bodies with schemes of government and ways of worship that vary widely. I shall argue that the canonizing of Scripture deliberately and wholesomely tied the hands of the church in some matters, but that in other matters it remained free, and still remains free—as in schemes of self-government and ways of worship.

Since Christianity is not a philosophy excogitated in the study by one man or many but good news concerning certain divine acts which have taken place in history, it follows that all Christians must in some form hold some view of tradition. Unless certain events had taken place many years ago, Christianity would not now exist. It is when we ask such questions as to what precisely did happen nearly two thousand years ago, how did the multiplicity of Christian churches now in the world come into being, what right have they to call themselves churches of Christ and speak and minister in His name, what guarantee have we that these churches are proclaiming accurately the kerygma of the early church and producing in their members the authentic experience of reconciliation to God and the new life in Christ, it is then that we find ourselves in serious disagreement and indeed in open contradiction. This paper is written by one who stands in the Baptist tradition, which means within the Reformed tradition of the church as this found expression in the left-wing of the Reformation and in the "dissidence of dissent." In discussing this question concerning tradition, I have tried to keep two questions constantly in mind:

(*a*) What attitude towards tradition is implicit in our historic nonconformist emphasis?

(*b*) Are there any grounds for believing that other church traditions have preserved essential elements which we have either lost or ignored, and which ought to be incorporated again into our thinking and practice, and vice versa?

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The nature and authority of Scripture must first claim our attention, since the antithesis between Scripture and ecclesiastical tradition is usually considered to involve one of the deepest divisions between many Protestants on the one side and the Roman Catholic, High Anglican and the Greek Orthodox views on the other side. The question is indeed of crucial importance and on our answer to it will depend in the last analysis our interpretation of the apostolic tradition, the nature of the ministry and the sacraments, the kind of institutional continuity which the church demands, in short, what constitutes the very essence of the gospel itself.

In the limited space at our disposal, there is no time for a thorough discussion of all the important questions involved. Suffice it to summarize here the basic assumptions which must underlie any reasoned defence of the Protestant claim that tradition must be subordinate to Scripture. It is generally agreed that the canon of Scripture was only achieved as the result of a process of selection extended over a considerable period of time. The Jewish canon of the Old Testament was not closed until early in the Christian era[1] and the New Testament canon was not complete until the fourth Christian century.[2] The decision to set apart these particular books was taken by the church. It was the common spiritual judgment of the majority of Christians which produced the canon. We must not, however, deduce from this what I believe to be a false conclusion, namely that because the Scriptures emerged from within the Christian community and received their unique position because of the judgment of the church, therefore the church is supreme over the Scripture and their infallible interpreter. The Church created the canon of Scripture in order to combat the errors and heresies which appealed to a secret and unwritten apostolic tradition which no one could check. In Professor Cullmann's words "by establishing the principle of the canon, the Church recognized in that very act that *from that moment* the tradition was no longer a criterion of the truth . . . by what we may call an act of humility, she submitted all subsequent tradition to be elaborated by herself to the supreme criterion of the apostolic tradition, codified in the Holy Scriptures."[3] We cannot exalt the authority of the church and at the same time renounce the decision which the church itself made in regard to Scripture. My basic premise, therefore, is that all forms of tradition must be judged in the light of the Scriptural norm which the church, by her own act and under the guidance of the Holy Spirit established.

Who, then, is to frame the proper interpretation of the Scriptural norm? If Scripture is itself the record of a long historical process, what events within that process are the key events which give us the clue to the meaning of the whole? And who selects and decides the interpretation of these events? Is it New Testament scholars, a college of professors or the church, and if

1. H. W. Robinson, *The Old Testament in the Making.*
2. A. H. McNeile (Revised C. S. C. Williams), *Introduction to the Study of the New Testament.*
3. O. Cullmann, *Scottish Journal of Theology,* vol. 6, no. 2.

so, which communion or denomination or combination of such? It may be argued that the individual, alone with his Bible, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, can be led to that act of faith which produces the correct interpretation of the events. One can hardly deny the reality of this experience, but the very fact that he possesses the Bible at all, means that he stands in some sense within the tradition of the church, whether he consciously acknowledges it or not. On the other hand, it is affirmed that the church is the only reliable interpreter of Scripture both because the Scripture emerged out of the church's life and because the Holy Spirit is active only "in the common life within the Body of Christ." Since the individual Christian is not an isolated atom but owes his very existence to some continuing corporate expression of Christian worship, life and witness, the solution must lie somewhere in this second position. It is often assumed, however, that to admit this is to hand ourselves over irrevocably to one of the existing forms of ecclesiastical tradition. This conclusion is often defended on the grounds that the church in one or other of its forms is the inheritor of an oral tradition derived from Christ and the original apostles which enables it to interpret Scripture in the light of a knowledge given to it from non-written sources. It is well known that the gnostics claimed to possess such a secret tradition, and that one of the strongest reasons for establishing the canon was to set up a norm which was not at the mercy of an arbitrary appeal to a secret tradition which no one could check. Since the church has established the canon, however, we are no longer justified in appealing to an oral tradition, secret or otherwise, which contradicts the apostolic witness given in the Scripture.

It may, however, be argued that the continuity of the church's living tradition can be accepted without such an appeal to oral tradition. The Christian koinonia has had a continuous life from the first calling of the twelve apostles and, while Scripture was in process of formation, the gospel was being preached, men were being saved and baptized, Christians were partaking of the bread and wine and engaging in private devotion and corporate worship. This fellowship, developing and growing like a living organism, naturally gave rise to various traditions, theological, liturgical and in the realm of polity, which must remain authoritative and binding for any man or church which wishes to remain in real continuity with that fellowship of the Spirit through which the divine life of the risen Lord pulsates. That there is real truth in this contention, a truth to which those of my own tradition have often failed to do justice, may be admitted. It is also a fact that it is extraordinarily difficult to decide how and in what precise manner this continuity has been maintained, once we abandon the idea of an infallible ecclesiastical institution. It seems to me at any rate that the latter conception is impossible to hold if we regard Scripture as in any sense containing the authentic apostolic tradition, and if we make an unprejudiced study of the history of the church in the early centuries.

It is sometimes contended that the Protestant, who makes Scripture the

norm by which tradition is judged, is compelled to hold a static view of the church, that he cannot make room for any real continuity and growth in the church's life, that he is constantly trying to begin again and to create the church afresh, *de novo* as it were, under the direct guidance of the Spirit. However justified this reproach may be when levelled against particular individuals, I do not think it is inherent in our position, though I confess that many of us find it difficult to trace the essential continuity of the church's life through any specific form of ecclesiastical organization. The problem may be put in the form of a question: In what sense does the unity and continuity of the tradition demand at least a minimum agreement and uniformity in theological affirmation, liturgical practice and forms of polity?

Let us turn first to the role of tradition in relation to theological affirmation, that aspect of the problem on which we propose to concentrate more especially. Is there a theological minimum without which there can be no authentic Christian knowledge and experience of God? Is there a theological continuity which runs from the first apostolic witness to the contemporary church? Has the faith once delivered to the saints been preserved in one church or in several churches, from the Roman Catholic at the one extreme to the multiplicity of Protestant sects at the other, not to mention what Horton Davies calls the Christian deviations in Christian Science, Jehovah's Witnesses or even, as he unkindly suggests, M.R.A. If there is a kerygma, where is it to be found? However plausible the Vincentian rule may have been at the time it was formulated,[4] the attempt today to decide the essentials of the faith by an appeal to that which has been believed everywhere, always and by all seems to involve us in an almost impossible collection of theological affirmations which are extremely difficult to reconcile in one coherent body of theological doctrine. In face of this situation, it is easy to argue that if every man is to be his own Pope and the infallible interpreter of Scripture, the result must inevitably be theological anarchy and the only safeguard must be some form of authoritative church which has preserved the kerygma and is able to interpret its meaning to the ordinary man. The problem may appear to be even more acute for Baptists and other nonconformist groups who have been suspicious of credal subscription and have seldom used any of the great ecumenical creeds of the early church in their worship. Are we not, then, left with a purely arbitrary selection from Scripture and tradition with no guarantee that we have the original and authentic witness to the Word of Life?

I reply that the ultimate safeguard against arbitrary subjectivity is to be found in the Bible and the witness it bears to those divine events in and through which God has made Himself known to men. Nor is it sufficient objection to say that this still leaves the interpretation of Scripture at the mercy of individual judgment. In a sense, it does, but we might as well recognize that this will always be the case. There is an ultimacy of the inner

4. W. P. Paterson, *The Rule of Faith*, Appendix B, pp. 426–7.

light, especially if we define it with Dr. C. J. Cadoux as "the whole of those internal powers and endowments which enable the individual to appropriate divine reality."[5] The inner light here not only covers intellect and reason in the narrow sense, but the appreciation of all absolute values and man's responsiveness to the divine reality, such as Dr. Farmer describes in his Gifford Lectures.[6] Nor is this disposed of by crying, "Subjective, subjective!" One does not solve the problem of objectivity in the sense which religion demands by appealing to external realities such as Scripture and Church. If man is incapable through his moral and religious experience of knowing God, then all authorities of whatever kind are quite incapable of giving him any direct knowledge of the ultimately real. This does not deny the principle of mediation in God's revealing of Himself to men, but it does mean that the inner response is required for the ultimate authority of truth itself to become manifest. "The ground for believing the Bible to be inspired beyond any other book is that, more than any other book, it comes home to the individual, it speaks to his condition, it answers the deepest needs of his own life, it saves him, as he sees that it has saved and still saves others. This, and in the last resort only this, is our proof that the Scriptures are of God."[7]

Nor can we assume without question that a majority vote necessarily decides matters of theological truth or error. Ultimately the only authority which God has over a free creature is the authority of the truth as this evokes the allegiance of the whole man. This does not rule out the importance and necessity of secondary authority but it does mean that these are authoritative for me only insofar as they mediate to me truth which I acknowledge to be such. We may prefer to explain this theologically in terms of the inner witness of the Holy Spirit, as I myself would do, but that does not alter the fact that the Holy Spirit's activity works in and through my own apprehension of spiritual truth, unless we are going to say that the Holy Spirit may guide me to accept that which on various grounds I do not believe to be true, which is immoral and an abandonment of intellectual integrity. This does not mean that for the Christian, truth is a purely private matter, unrelated to the way in which God has revealed Himself or to the continuous experience of Christian men down the ages.

What, then, is the kerygma, the theological minimum without which we can hardly conceive of Christianity in any form as existing at all? Just as our various theories of the physical universe do not alter the fact that there is something there to be explored, which is not merely a figment of our imagination, so God's revelation in history has about it a massive objectivity to which sooner or later we shall have to adjust ourselves. Furthermore, the Bible and the corporate existence of the church, though fragmented, present a body of fact and interpretation of fact with which the individual Christian must obviously come to terms. I am quite prepared to admit that many

5. C. J. Cadoux, *Catholicism and Christianity*, p. 119.
6. H. H. Farmer, *Religion and Revelation.*
7. Cadoux, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

nonconformists have an unfortunate habit of jumping from the New Testament to the Reformation and assuming that nothing of any significance happened in the intervening period. We have not valued, as perhaps we should, the great ecumenical creeds, though many Free Churchmen today would value them highly as the expression of the mind of the church in the early centuries, and as the articulation of Christian truths which have permanent significance and value for us. To accept Scripture as the norm does not mean that we must dismiss all later developments of the church's theology and worship as sheer perversion, with the exception of our own particular strand of the Protestant tradition.

Nevertheless, it does make a great difference whether tradition is regarded as co-equal with Scripture or determinative of the meaning of Scripture or whether tradition is regarded as subject to the judgment of the Word of God as this is mediated to us through the apostolic witness in the Scripture. Nor does this necessarily mean ruling out later church practices as illegitimate where there is no specific New Testament precedent. The church may be perfectly justified in developing forms of polity, framing intellectual expressions of faith and developing new forms of worship for which there is no set pattern in the New Testament. The tendency to defend infant baptism today, not from the New Testament but from the practice of the church (N. P. Williams, T. W. Manson, W. F. Flemington, O. Cullmann) is not rejected by Baptists because we think the church could not have been led by the Holy Spirit to sanction new practices helpful to its life after the apostolic period, but because, in this case, we believe there is a serious departure from a proper conception of the church inherent in that apostolic witness.

However, we have not yet defined more precisely what is meant by the Scriptural norm. Even if it is granted that Scripture in some sense provides the standard by which the tradition is to be judged, what elements in Scripture itself are central for this purpose? Dr. W. P. Paterson lists the four marks of authority, sufficiency, perspicuity and efficacy.[8] As he interprets these, I agree. Scripture is authoritative as over against an ecclesiastically managed tradition for the reasons already given: it is sufficient for light upon the way of salvation; though obscure in parts, its basic witness to Christ is clear and unambiguous; though unedifying in parts, it is efficacious in pointing men to Christ as their Lord and Saviour.[9] It is true that when Scripture is efficacious in this sense, it does not leave a man with a purely private religious experience. It commits him to membership of a fellowship of believers who will desire to preach the Word, celebrate the ordinances, and try to act in accordance with the mind of Christ. The corporate life thus established, however, will not contradict the essential affirmations of the Scripture.

What, then, are these essential affirmations? In my judgment, Prof. J. N. Kelly is right in claiming that though "it is anachronistic to attribute to the

8. W. P. Paterson, *The Rule of Faith*, p. 61. 9. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

apostolic church an official, textually determined confession of faith, the New Testament documents themselves testify to the existence of a corpus of distinctively Christian teaching."[10] C. H. Dodd[11], Oscar Gullmann[12] and Prof. Kelly himself have endeavoured to state what those beliefs were.[13] Let us take the latter's summary of Prof. Dodd's material as a basis. The core of the primitive kergyma consisted "in the proclamation that Jesus of Nazareth, of the lineage of David, had come as Son of God and Messiah; that He wrought mighty acts and gave a new and authoritative teaching or law; that He was crucified, died and was buried; that He rose again on the third day and was exalted to the right hand of God, victorious over principalities and powers; and that He will come again to judge the living and the dead. The setting of all this was the conviction, openly announced, that the Apostles and those in fellowship with them constituted the new Israel of God, the heir of the ancient promises, and were marked out as such by the manifest outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Those who embraced this gospel, repented and believed in Christ, would receive the forgiveness of their sins and a share in the life of the coming age." By concentrating on the preaching, says Kelly, there is a tendency to overlook the Jewish heritage of belief in God the Father, Maker of Heaven and Earth, and in the implicit Trinitarianism of the New Testament. There is one other disadvantage in Prof. Dodd's approach and that is the way in which the kerygma is separated from the teaching of Jesus, embodied in the Sermon on the Mount, the parables and the other sayings of our Lord. Dodd himself does not wish to harden this distinction but some seem to be only too ready to leave the teaching in the background for reasons of their own. Surely the essentials of the gospel message cannot be presented without reference to the things which Jesus said, unless we doubt whether the New Testament gives us any authentic knowledge of Jesus' words at all.[14] We have rejected this extreme scepticism concerning the ipsissima verba of Jesus and therefore believe that Dodd's series of affirmations distilled from the early preaching in Acts, the content of the teaching in the Sermon, parables etc., and the abiding influence of the Jewish conviction as to the one Creator God, together with the implicit Trinitarianism of the New Testament as a whole, all these constitute a considerable body of theological affirmation in the broad sense. It is difficult to conceive of a Christianity from which any of these elements has been completely excised.

This, however, by no means solves the problem of theological tradition and continuity. How shall we make sure that this theological minimum is really retained and is there not a need also to make sure that it is properly interpreted, since many different theological constructions might be put

10. J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, pp. 6, 10.
11. C. H. Dodd, *The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments.*
12. O. Cullmann, *Early Christian Confessions.*
13. Kelly, *op. cit.*, pp. 11–12.
14. On this general question, see T. W. Manson, *The Teaching of Jesus*; C. J. Cadoux, *The Historic Mission of Jesus*; B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels.*

upon this New Testament material? The authors of the *Catholicity of Protestantism* are right in adducing at this state the "witness of the Church of Christ through the ages, spiritually and historically continuous with the Church of the apostolic age, indwelt by the living Christ and taught by the Holy Spirit.[15] It is difficult to believe that any Christian would arrogantly dismiss this witness of the church and the spiritual judgment of the countless Christian men and women who have gone before. The fact remains, however, that unless we are going to have recourse again to some doctrine of infallibility, we cannot attribute to the church's witness an inerrant testimony to the living Christ. The diversity of theological opinion and judgment is obvious, and this only makes it more difficult to answer the question as to the theological minimum required. What is *de fide*, without which a man is not justified in calling himself a Christian at all? In some quarters, there is a tendency to deny that any theological minimum is required. A man is a Christian by reason of the spirit of love and his acts of kindness and mercy, not because of any special beliefs. To carry this to its logical conclusion would be to empty Christianity of all positive intellectual content whatever, and this must surely be rejected. It is also psychologically impossible to separate belief and action in the rigid way implied in this way of thinking. Granted, then, that a Christian must make some theological affirmations, however limited, what are they to be, and how can we safeguard them for each new generation of Christians?

Shall we demand a more extensive subscription to theological affirmations on the part of the ordained minister, while allowing more liberty to the layman? Are we justified in demanding as a condition of church membership for the ordinary Christian a less thorough acceptance of theological propositions than that which might be required of the clergy? The difficulty in answering this question satisfactorily arises from the fact that, though the Holy Spirit has guided the church as a whole and the divided communions of Christendom in their corporate life, He has also illuminated the consciousness of individuals to enable them to recover authentic insights into the nature of the gospel which the church may have forgotten at a particular period.[16] That individuals are peculiarly liable to error in this regard does not justify us in denying such illuminating activity of the Holy Spirit outside specific church traditions. Daniel Jenkins' remark on this subject seems valid to me: "It is true that, as G. K. Chesterton has said, 'the inner light has often led to the outer darkness', though perhaps not more often than the padded chair of St. Peter has been used to quench the smoking flax."[17]

Baptists at any rate have always hesitated to demand theological subscription over and above the acceptance of the Scripture as decisive for faith and morals. In this, I believe they have been right, though in all honesty I must admit that we have not always clearly seen the full implications

15. R. N. Flew and R. E. Davies, *The Catholicity of Protestantism*, p. 117.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 118–19.
17. D. Jenkins, *Tradition and the Spirit*, p. 179.

of our basic position. In trying, for example, to impose a particular view of the inspiration of Scripture, say verbal infallibility, some Baptists have set up an external theological test which appeals to certain people only, instead of allowing Scripture to speak for itself without being forced into some preconceived theological dogma. The kind of theological examination, which forms part of our Canadian ordination practice, could result in theological tests as harmful to real liberty as anything imposed by other branches of the church. This has not so far happened, but it could do if we forget the true nature of what we are trying to do in the ordination service.

The question may now be asked, if we are going to put the Bible into the hands of the average man without any kind of authoritative interpretation, or without the safeguard of a theological tradition tested by the ages, will not the result be complete theological anarchy? Who knows what will happen to the kerygma when every Tom, Dick and Harry has had a try at interpretation? Let me admit frankly that the risk is real, but that it is a risk we ought to take. The religious crank, the heretic, the schismatic is the price we must pay for genuine theological liberty, and I for one value the latter highly enough to be willing to pay that price. Nor to be quite frank does it seem to me that the alternative solutions have been conspicuously successful in preserving true doctrine, if we survey the history of the church as a whole. Canon Quick has tried to defend the use of the creeds, not as test-formulae to be imposed but as standard witnesses to the church's faith.[18] In this sense, even Baptists have put out confessions of faith from time to time as a guide to the believer.[19] Yet history seems to show how difficult it is in practice to keep this distinction between witness to faith and assent to authoritative dogmas externally imposed. For my own part, I would be content with the acceptance of Scripture as decisive for faith and morals, while leaving considerable freedom of theological interpretation, which is bound to occur anyhow, unless we are going to use some form of coercion, whether subtle or more openly physical.

To some this will appear to be the way to disaster. Not only does it open the field to the crank but also to the radical and destructive biblical critic. In the last analysis, however, our ultimate confidence can only be in the power of God to subdue men to the truth as it is in Christ through the illuminating activity of the Holy Spirit. Through the witness of the apostolic church and its Scripture, the church of the ages and enlightened individuals, God continually evokes faith in His redemptive love and wins men and women afresh to new life in Christ. This is obviously compatible, as history shows, with a great diversity of theological affirmation, ecclesiastical organization and liturgical practice. To search the Scriptures with spiritual and intellectual integrity will, I believe, result in the elimination of theological fads and aberrations and bring men nearer to the Christ and therefore to one another, even though the process may take a long time. In any case, if

18. O. C. Quick, *Doctrines of the Creed*, p. 320.
19. Cf. Flew and Davies, *The Catholicity of Protestantism*, p. 118.

God's truth cannot in the end win the free allegiance of man, there seems to be no other Christian way by which such allegiance can be secured. Baptists, Congregationalists and others, who have not been bound by creeds or rigid forms of polity or authoritative government, have not fallen into the theological anarchy which might have been expected. There is surprising unity in adherence to the basic things in the New Testament witness. If we have had our own cranks, our heretics, and our perverters of the truth, when has that not been so with others also? It is abundantly true of the period which saw the framing of the great ecumenical creeds, and I think the evidence shows it to be so for other periods too. Neither papal infallibility nor general council nor episcopacy nor synod nor even the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec have been able at all times to ensure either theological uniformity or the permanent dominance of any one particular interpretation of the Scriptural witness. This does not mean that there is not a massive and impressive agreement in Christian witness and experience down the ages, but this has not been produced by any of the means mentioned above. It is the result of the Holy Spirit's activity in leading men to the Christ to whom Scripture testifies. The reason why the so-called revival of biblical theology has been drawing us together is that scholars have not hesitated to pursue the truth, even when it seemed to go against some particular aspect of their own tradition. In this sense, the influence of biblical theology is the fruit of that freedom which was the true glory of the old liberalism, and if the theology of the latter seems now faded and worn, the spirit in which they prosecuted the theological quest is by no means out of date. It is needed as much as ever, since the only unity the Holy Spirit strives to create is the unity of the free acceptance of the living truth as this is embodied in the Christ to whom Scripture testifies and to which all forms of Christian tradition ought to adhere.

Faith and Tradition

EUGENE R. FAIRWEATHER

I. The Essential Issue

ALL Christians will agree that the Scriptures, enshrining the Word which God in his self-revelation has spoken to man, occupy a unique place among the norms of Christian doctrine. But this agreement ends abruptly when we begin to discuss the context in which the biblical Word is given, apprehended and interpreted, and to investigate the relation of that Word to the other primary elements (if any) of the Christian Tradition. My basic thesis in this article is simply that our differing views of the structure of Tradition are related to—and indeed to some extent arise out of—divergent interpretations of the way in which God's saving self-communication touches man.

The question is usefully raised by the ancient description of the baptismal initiation of the Christian as *sacramentum fidei*,[1] since different explanations of the correlation of *fides* and *sacramentum* disclose differing attitudes towards the life of grace, and this fact helps to explain the divergence in our formulations of the Tradition by which that life is framed and supported. (1) For example, the baptismal "Sacrament of faith" may be seen as an expression of faith elicited from the believer by the proclamation of the Word. The Church, in which the Sacrament is performed, will then be the society of believers, which preaches the Word and fosters faith. In this perspective, Sacrament and Church alike are radically subordinated to the Word, proclaimed and consciously accepted. (2) Or perhaps the "Sacrament of faith" will be construed as an expression of the Church's faith, announcing itself to the individual believer by means of a visible word (*verbum visibile*). Here the Church, which celebrates the Sacrament, is the society constituted by the Word in its dual form of speech and sign. Sacrament and Church remain subordinated to the Word, though with clearer recognition of the essential function of both as instruments of God's saving truth. (3) Or again, the "Sacrament of faith," while including both these meanings, may be seen as essentially a mystery of new being and life, communicated as well as signified by the Sacraments. While the mystery which they represent is apprehended by faith and can be fulfilled in the Christian's life only insofar as he appropriates it by personal faith—since it is agreed that faith is the fundamental response to God's saving work—the Sacraments do much more than set forth the Word or awaken and express faith. The Word declares the mystery which is really communicated in the Sacrament, while the celebration of the Sacrament is fulfilled in the

1. Cf. Augustine, *Epist.* 98, 9–10 (*CSEL*, 34, 530ff.).

response of faith to the Word proclaimed. The Church itself is the community of grace and faith, in whose life and truth Christians participate. In a sense, then, Sacrament is subordinated to Church, and Word to Sacrament, but without any thought of making any one element a mere expression or aspect of another element.

The connexion of this summary (and doubtless incomplete) analysis with the problem of Tradition is a quite direct one. (1) Those who hold the first position will (at least in principle) accept no Tradition other than Scripture. They will accept Baptism as a witness to the Christian's faith and the Eucharist as the seal of fellowship among believers in Christ's redemption. They will admit the reality of God's calling through his Word to a ministry in the Church and the world. All these, however, will be expressions of the response of faith to the Word of grace, and essential Christian Tradition will have to do with the latter alone. (2) Exponents of the second view will also be essentially scripturalist in their interpretation of Tradition, even though they may lay greater emphasis on the revelatory character of certain biblically attested institutions. The "Sacraments of the Gospel," in particular, will be acknowledged as effective signs of God's goodwill towards his people, by which the Gospel of salvation is given concrete expression in the household of faith, while more may also be said of ministerial order and an appeal made to biblical fact and principle in support of a particular order. Nonetheless, the extra-biblical elements will be essentially dependent on the revelatory Word, and fundamental Tradition will be contained in the latter, and in other elements only as determined by the Word. (3) The third view of Tradition has often been badly formulated, thanks to the intrusion of ideas of a separate doctrinal "tradition," parallel to Scripture.[2] In essence, however, it is an assertion, bound up with a particular understanding of the life of faith, of the reciprocal dependence of Scripture and the other elements of Tradition. In this perspective, Scripture, Creed, Sacraments, Ministry, appear as a complex Tradition, enshrining the grace and truth, the being and word, of the incarnate Logos, for the achievement of man's salvation.

Writing from an Anglican standpoint—and therefore starting from the *third* suggested interpretation of the *sacramentum fidei*, which I understand to be the teaching of the historic formularies of the Church of England—I propose to elaborate the *third* view of Tradition, as implied in the basic pattern of Anglican teaching and practice. By way of clearing the ground, we should note that the classical Anglican position is not as simple as some casual readers of the sixth "Article of Religion" seem to think. It is true that, confronted with certain doctrinal distortions and with misleading formulations of this particular issue, the Church of England came down

2. Cf. Council of Trent, Sess. IV (Denzinger, 23rd ed., No. 783). For recent developments in the Roman Catholic conception of Tradition, cf. K. E. Skydsgaard, "Scripture and Tradition," *Scottish Journal of Theology*, vol. 9 (1956), 337–58.

heavily on the side of the Reformation against false traditions. At the same time, she retained the essential shape of the extra-biblical Tradition—at first, perhaps, largely on conservative and pragmatic grounds, but very soon with an awareness which pointed to a more adequate formulation of the whole question. If, then, Anglicans must still take seriously their vocation to testify to a reformed Catholicism against the unilateral and uncritical definitions of papal Catholicism, this witness will naturally take the form, not of a "protestant" repudiation of extra-biblical Tradition, but of a "catholic" defence of Tradition in its wholeness against Reformation negations as well as against that flight from Tradition which sometimes shows itself in modern Rome.

II. The Shape of Tradition

So far, it may seem that a very large question has been begged. It may be true that our definition of the structure of Tradition will arise out of our conception and experience of the life of grace and faith. But need there really be *any* Tradition? Is Christianity not the religion of the Spirit, who leads believers into all truth? Is not reliance on traditional forms, whether they be biblical, credal, sacramental or ministerial, evidence of a "fundamentalist" lack of faith in the Spirit of Christ? The essential answer is simple. As long as Christianity is Christianity, it cannot break the links that bind it to the historical Jesus, the Messiah of Israel and the Head of the Church. The Church cannot surrender to a new "Montanism" which, in the name of spiritual enthusiasm, would cut through the essential dependence of Christian faith and life on the mighty acts once done and the Word once spoken.

"Scripturalists" and "traditionalists" are rightly in agreement on this fundamental principle of the validity of Tradition. At the same time, a one-sided emphasis on the Word and Scripture, like a preoccupation with extra-biblical *doctrinal* traditions, is more likely than a comprehensive doctrine of apostolic Tradition to lead to an anti-historical illuminism. A type of Christianity which thinks of Christian communion with and in God as embodied in the whole pattern of historical forms which emerges from the work of Christ and his apostles has a multiple link with primitive Tradition, lacking in other expressions of our religion. It is this fullest realization of the concept of Tradition that must now be outlined.

We may begin at the point of fullest agreement—namely, the Tradition of truth in Scripture, and the *primacy* of this biblical witness in our knowledge of God and his gracious acts—but we shall have to draw the line at any attempt to turn this acknowledgement of primacy into an assertion of the absolute *sufficiency* of Scripture even as a doctrinal norm. For one thing, the Creed has to be taken into account as a "key to the Scriptures," to whose at least embryonic existence the Scriptures themselves bear wit-

ness. It is Scripture *and* the "rule of faith" (*regula fidei*) that constitute the primary *dogmatic* norm of Tradition.[3] But more than this, in its origins the *regula fidei* is intimately associated with the *sacramentum fidei*, and it represents to us the indissoluble union of Sacrament and faith.[4] Faith held according to this rule is the attitude of the Christian who lives in and by the mystery of the divine life, sacramentally bestowed. But this points to the "exegetical" significance, not only of the Creed, but also of the Church's sacramental Liturgy, in our apprehension of the Christian and Catholic sense of Scripture. This is not to say that the meaning of man's relation to God is not fully declared in Scripture, but it is to assert that certain extra-biblical aids are indispensable for the understanding of that meaning.

All this points to the Tradition of the means of grace as a second element in the *paradosis*. As far as their established place in the Church is concerned, the Sacraments rest on independent and correlative Tradition whose essential forms go back beyond the formulation of the Canon of biblical Tradition. As Dom Gregory Dix pointed out most effectively, this is conspicuously true of the "shape" of the eucharistic Liturgy.[5] But this is precisely what we should expect, if the Word of faith is the announcement of a gift sacramentally mediated. Christian faith is something received and held in the setting of the life of grace, given in the Church in a sacramental embodiment.

One point more. This life of grace goes on in a community, whose teaching declares the divine truth and whose acts communicate the divine life. This community speaks and acts as a continuously existent society, whose existence does not depend simply on the presence and proclamation of the Word or the continued celebration of the Sacraments. There is a distinctively social dimension to the Church's continuity, a core of human, personal Tradition. This is the Tradition of the Ministry, embodied in the apostolic succession of the episcopate. This again is parallel to, rather than deduced from, Scripture, as the role of "apostolic succession"—whatever its precise meaning at this point in history—in the second-century struggle with heresy suggests.[6] And again, this is what we should expect, if grace and faith are bestowed *in* the community and *for* its building-up to its eternal stature. The faith is confessed and the Sacraments are received in the context of the historically given Ministry and the Church gathered round it.

All that has been said so far has to do primarily with "apostolic Tradi-

3. For a classical statement of the function of the "rule of faith," cf. Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.*, I, 9:4 (*PG*, 7, 545): "He also who retains unchangeable in himself the rule of truth which he received by means of Baptism, will doubtless recognize the names, the expressions and the parables taken from the Scriptures, but will by no means acknowledge the blasphemous use which these men make of them." See also I, 10:1 (*PG*, 7, 549; 551) on the faith as received from the Apostles, and III, 3–4 (col. 848–57) on the continuity of faith in the succession of authorized teachers.

4. This relation is illustrated in Hippolytus, *Apost. Trad.*, xxi. 12–18 (ed. Dix, pp. 36f.). Cf. J. H. Crehan, S.J., *Early Christian Baptism and the Creed*, pp. 131–44, 159–70.

5. Cf. G. Dix, O.S.B., *The Shape of the Liturgy*, pp. 2ff.

6. Cf. C. H. Turner, in H. B. Swete (ed.), *Essays on the Early History of the Church and the Ministry*, pp. 95–132; E. R. Fairweather and R. F. Hettlinger, *Episcopacy and Reunion*, pp. 17ff.

tion"—with the given forms on which the Church's life depends in this and every age. At this level, the problem of "Scripture and Tradition" is not that of the discrimination of the primary from the secondary, the older from the newer. Rather, it is that of understanding the total givenness of Christianity, and of determining the place of Scripture within this totality.

We call this primary Tradition "apostolic" because of the unique status of the "apostles"—however we define that sometimes elusive group—as authoritative witnesses to and interpreters of the mighty acts of God in Christ. No later teachers, however learned and wise and spiritually gifted, can replace the witness of those from whom the Church "received the beginning of her religion."[7] It was the awareness of this that led the Church to speak (not altogether wrongly) of the "Apostles' Creed," and to insist on the apostolicity of the New Testament. The same sense underlay the claims—often extravagant, but with a core of truth—for "apostolic constitutions" and suchlike, as well as the emphasis of Catholic Christianity on apostolic succession. In doctrine, worship and order alike, apostolicity is the norm of the Church's behaviour, and the essence of such apostolicity is to be found in what the Church, as it formulated its defence against the first great challenge of heresy, put forward as "apostolic Tradition."

III. The Tradition of the Church

"I delivered to you . . . what I also received" (I Cor. 15:3). As St. Paul implies, the apostolic Tradition is not just something bestowed on the Church once and stored away; on the contrary, the very term "tradition" stands at once for something transmitted and for the process of transmission, and we look back at the definitive revelation across long centuries, in which the Bible has been read and interpreted, the Creed recited and expanded, the Sacraments administered and enshrined in time-honoured forms of worship, the Ministry perpetuated and diversified. All this elaboration inevitably raises the question of the relation of the developing Church to the foundations of its life—in other words, the question of apostolic Tradition in the living Church.

Two emphases, which it is desirable to keep in balance, have marked Christian attitudes to historical development. On the one hand, we find a reserved approach to growth and expansion, an attitude which can be corrupted into sheer conservatism but which nonetheless expresses the unique importance of the "primitive" in an historical religion. On the other hand, we find an enthusiastic appreciation of the cumulative character of Christian wisdom and of the claims of the developed understanding of the living Church, a viewpoint which sometimes involves an impatience with the restraints of an historical religion but which also expresses a strong sense of the importance of growth into fullness in an eschatological religion. Since the exclusive dominance of either attitude would destroy the balance of

7. *Roman Missal* and *Breviary*, Collect for SS. Peter and Paul.

Christian thought, it is fortunate that the Christian mind has usually managed to make room for both of them, though in varying proportions.

The first emphasis appears in the characteristic Anglican appeal to the Fathers. This appeal to the formulation of Tradition, doctrinal, sacramental, hierarchical, by the pastors and teachers of the formative period of Christian dogma depends on the unique place of the Fathers in Christian history, a place determined by their exact situation in the temporal development of the Church.[8] The Fathers almost stand between the Tradition of the Apostles and the Tradition of the Church, insofar as they at once bear witness to received Tradition and lay the foundations for its expanded expression and authoritative formulation. Their work, moreover, is a genuinely corporate achievement of the Church. If the Tridentine expression, "the unanimous consent of the Fathers,"[9] suggests an unfounded optimism regarding points of detail—including, ironically enough, the exegesis of the *Tu es Petrus*—it does point to the peculiar success of the Fathers in helping the Church to reach a common mind in the statement of the fundamentals of her faith. Later theology must, I believe, begin where they left off, and not try to do their work over again under quite different historical conditions.

At the same time—and perhaps the failure to grasp this point has been the conspicuous defect of the Anglican virtue of loyalty to the Fathers—theology must go on to appropriate the characteristic insights of each new age. The cumulative achievement of this enterprise is the mark of continuous growth in the Church's understanding of her faith, and may be considered from two points of view. On the one hand, what we might call the "Tradition of the Doctors" offers us a body of results, some of which have come close to formal "canonization" in the teaching of the Church, and all of which have a claim on our consideration as the product of prolonged reflection on the developing Tradition. Because the "Doctors" of each generation are situated essentially as we are in relation to more fundamental Tradition, it is always possible to go behind their opinions to a weightier standard; nonetheless, their collective judgment can never be treated lightly. On the other hand, the notion of the Tradition of the Doctors stands for the recognition that the mind as well as the body of the Church must grow as long as her temporal mission lasts. The fact that we can share, according to our ability, in the formation of this element of secondary Tradition is an antidote to a false antiquarianism and a challenge to each generation to make its contribution to the fuller comprehension of the truth of the Gospel.

As we have seen, the significance of Fathers and Doctors lies in their place in the continuous life of the Church and in their authenticity as reflections of the whole Church's consciousness of its life in Christ. From

8. On "Fathers" and cognate expressions, cf. R. D. Crouse, in E. R. Fairweather (ed.), *A Scholastic Miscellany* (Philadelphia and London, 1956), p. 159, n. 34.
9. *Professio fidei tridentina* ("Creed of Pius IV"; Denzinger, No. 995).

considering their vocation, therefore, we are driven on to face the problem of the authority of the Tradition-transmitting Church. Just what is implied in the truth that the Church, as the Body of Christ, lives by his life and his Spirit and grows into his grace and truth under that Spirit's guidance?

It is here, perhaps, that the Anglican finds it hardest to chart his course between the Genevan Scylla and the Roman Charbydis. It is tempting to agree with Dr. Cullmann that the apostolic Tradition, embodied in the apostolic Scriptures, is the final test of all subsequent developments, especially since this is partially true, as well as being effective against certain pretensions to authority.[10] It is tempting to agree with Mgr. Journet that the apostolic authority of the living Church, embodied in the Catholic episcopate, is the adequate criterion of the authenticity of Christian teaching, especially since as a church we have devoted much time to the vindication of the apostolic character of episcopacy.[11] Yet neither position is ultimately satisfactory. The papal position, for all its stress on continuity, involves the risk of a subjugation of Apostles and Fathers alike to the Tradition of the Doctors. The Protestant position, taken at its face value, looks like a desperate abdication, born of reaction, of the Church's teaching function, while in actual practice it often discloses a certain affinity with the papal idea, the "Tradition of the Protestant Doctors" being substituted for the more effective claim of Pius IX: "La tradizione son' io."[12]

No one can lightly dismiss either the Protestant fear that the Word of God will be made of none effect by human traditions or the Roman Catholic concern for the knowability of the Christian faith even apart from lifelong devotion to Near Eastern studies. Our problem is to reconcile two claims: the reformability of human traditions by reference to the apostolic Tradition, and the right of the living Church to speak Christ's truth in Christ's name and to defend that truth against ignorance and error. If we face both honestly, it seems unlikely that their reconciliation can be achieved either by a simple-minded appeal to Scripture or by the recognition of an organ of infallible teaching in the contemporary Church.

What then? There is no room here for more than a tentative suggestion. The Protestant has to his credit the recognition that primary Tradition really *is* primary, and that everything else, from the Fathers down, is a series of footnotes to a book which we did not write. The Roman Catholic, on the other hand, while the triumph of Ultramontanism and the defensive attitude typical of the post-Tridentine Church have led to the exaggeration and distortion of his own principles, has stoutly defended the truth that we can make very little out of the book without the footnotes and that, moreover, the book did not publish itself. To state my suggestion very naïvely, we must try to relate these inseparable truths in such a way as to do justice at once to the "appeal to history" and to the "living voice."

10. Cf. O. Cullmann, *Peter: Disciple-Apostle-Martyr*, pp. 215–23; *The Early Church*, pp. 87–98.
11. Cf. C. Journet, *The Primacy of Peter, passim.*
12. On this saying, cf. T. G. Jalland, *The Church and the Papacy*, p. 522.

But how? First, by recognizing clearly and constantly that the task of theology is the exposition of the primary Tradition of the Gospel of God, so that in all our thinking we endeavour to understand and interpret the mighty acts and the living words of grace. The mind of the Church needs continual refreshment from the wells of apostolic Christianity. But secondly, we must remember that our Christian thinking is not something that we do all by ourselves, each in his little corner. If we are to try to understand our faith, we must look for understanding where we look for faith itself, namely, in the Church, into whose life we were initiated by the *sacramentum fidei*. Nor must we assume as a basic postulate, as some do, that the Church, in whose living continuity we hear the Word and receive the Sacraments, is incapable of formulating definitive interpretations of that Word and those Sacraments. Even less should we suppose, as some have been known to do, that apostolic Tradition and Ecclesiastical Tradition must necessarily conflict, or forget that, in some sense, the latter inevitably mediates the former to us.

Of course, all this is still less than a positive answer to the inescapable question: How is the day-to-day teaching of the Church formed into ecclesiastical Tradition and thus made a definitive acquisition of the Christian mind? If we reject, as I think we must, the simple doctrine of papal infallibility and the rather less simple doctrine of conciliar infallibility, there is no easy answer, and even to begin to formulate a difficult one would be the work of another article. But I believe that we can say this much, as a kind of pointer. If Christians were prepared to enter into and live by the fullness of the Church's apostolic Tradition, and in that setting to think together, not as irresponsible theological debaters, but as participants in a common truth and common Sacraments under common pastors, the consent of the faithful (*consensus fidelium*) would surprise us by its clarity—where clarity was necessary. Despite certain notorious failures of brotherhood, this approach seems to have worked rather effectively in the age of the Ecumenical Councils, and it is more than Anglican nostalgia for the "undivided Church" that prompts the suggestion that its essential principle has something to contribute to the solution of the problems of our own time.

History and the Bible

STANLEY B. FROST

IT is universally recognized that the distinctive feature of Hebrew Religion is that it found God primarily revealed not in the phenomena of Nature but in the events of History.

> O my people, remember what Balak king of Moab devised,
> And what Balaam the son of Beor answered him,
> And what happened from Shittim to Gilgal,
> That ye may know the saving acts of Yahweh.[1]

It is by a knowledge of God's acts of deliverance on behalf of Israel that His character and purpose are to be apprehended.

That this distinctive feature of Hebrew Religion passed over into Christianity, in an even more emphatic form, is equally universally recognized. Judaism largely substituted Torah, the revealed Will of God, as the deposit of revelation, but Christianity accepted the Old Testament history and added to it the story of the ministry, death and resurrection of Jesus, together with the birth and growth of the church and declared that in these events the character and the will of God are to be known. The following quotation may be taken as representative of the attitude of books dealing with biblical theology: "Hence it is here maintained that Biblical Theology is *the confessional recital of the redemptive acts of God* in a particular history because history is the chief medium of revelation."[2]

It is this acceptance of the events of history as the medium of revelation which causes the historical matter in both Testaments to form so large a proportion of the whole. It is this same acceptance which has caused many scholars and less-well-equipped religionists to attempt to show that the Biblical record of event is authentic and factually correct. The recent volume by Werner Keller is but the latest in a long series.[3] The means by which this accuracy is to be established are, of course, the evidence of the archeologists of the Near East, whose treasure house of rediscovered fact is crammed full of rich stores of material, the growth of which is every day becoming more formidable. And indeed, the evidence the archeologists have assembled is nothing short of overwhelming in its support of the Biblical account of the ancient past. Before 1850 almost the only knowledge mankind possessed of the events of the first half of the first millenium B.C. and earlier was that given by the Bible and the gossipy tales of Herodotus. Since that date, however, the history of the Ancient Near East, the cradle of all civilization, has been painstakingly written for the first time. Not only

1. Micah 6:5.
2. G. E. Wright, *God Who Acts, Biblical Theology as Recital*, p. 13.
3. *The Bible is History.*

has the life of buried towns been reconstructed in the smallest detail, as in the case of Mari and Nusu, but whole lost empires like that of the Hittites have been restored to the knowledge of mankind, and ancient languages like Accadian and Sumerian, long dead and silent, have been supplied with grammars and lexicons, so that to learn them is hardly more difficult than acquiring the Hebrew and Greek in which the Bible itself is written. The impressive fact is that when the whole vast jigsaw puzzle, consisting of innumerable clay tablets, broken sherds, buried foundations and inscribed stelae, has been skilfully fitted together, they form a coherent picture into which the Biblical story fits smoothly and easily into place, as being authentically part of the world which modern scholarship has so painstakingly rebuilt. In its broad outlines, the historical narratives of the Bible have been convincingly shown to be remarkably accurate.

I

But the difficulties confronting the Christian theologian are not diminished but rather increased by this mounting store of knowledge. The rediscovery of the thought-world of the ancients has taught us to recognise the categories of myth and legend. By myth I mean in this connection those stories which, while they may or may not enshrine a vestigial memory of some outstanding natural phenomenon (e.g. a particularly widespread flood), are nevertheless told to enable man to come to terms with the universe in which he lives, and to give an answer, satisfying emotionally if not logically, to his fundamental questionings, Where did the world come from? Why are the forces of nature sometimes friendly, sometimes hostile? Why do the seasons rotate? Why do men die? and so on. By legend I mean narratives which centre around magnetic figures of the past, upon whose life-stories later generations have projected the psychological needs and social requirements of their own time, so that, while the central figure is probably an historical person, and the main events of his career have probably survived undamaged in the tradition, the character as a whole has become aetiological. The newly-recovered Gilgamish Epic, or the long-known story of Theseus and the Minotaur, now seen against the background of the ruins of Cnossus in an entirely new light, display these characteristics of myth and legend in abundance. But once we have learned to distinguish these narrative-forms elsewhere we cannot fail to recognise them in the Bible in such stories as those of Adam and Eve and of the Patriarchs. Abraham, for example, is clearly to be recognized as one of the many Aramean sheikhs who drifted round the Fertile Crescent in the wake of their more powerful Amorite relatives; but were his journeyings truly a sacred quest, or were they given that character by the legend-making tendencies of later generations? This is the kind of question we have to face, and to such questions neither archeology nor pre-history can provide an answer, a fact which Sir Charles Marston, Dr. Keller, and their followers, seem unable to recognize.

Further, when we come to those parts of the narrative still usually accepted as history rather than as myth or legend, we find that modern knowledge has given us the ability to distinguish between earlier and later strata of traditions, and to perceive the changes that have been effected in the presentation of material owing to changes in the interests of the narrators. The two presentations of the figure of Samuel in the main sources of the book named after him have long since been noted for their incongruity and more recently Ludwig Koehler in a paper entitled *Die Geschichte eines Gestaltwandels* has drawn attention to the surprisingly different presentations of David as we move from the very human hero of the contemporary Court History, to the divinely ordained and regal personage of the Deuteronomic editors of the Books of Samuel and Kings, and then on to the eager ecclesiastic offered by the Chronicler, or to the pious righteous sufferer presented by the editors responsible for the psalm-titles of the Psalter.[4] Similarly, Jacob Weingreen has drawn attention to the fact that the theological and religious motives which determined the course of the rabbinic treatment of scripture are themselves but the continuation of the motives which caused the later writers of scripture to recast the material contained in the earlier sources. The only difference is that once the text was regarded as fixed and sacred, the desired adjustments had to be achieved by interpretation and comment.[5]

That ideological considerations profoundly affected the historiography of the Old Testament cannot then for one moment be doubted. A case in point is the treatment afforded to the House of Omri. The founder of that dynasty, though one of the ablest and most important of the northern kings, is dismissed in six verses. Yet almost as many chapters are given to his son Ahab, who is, however, presented in a derogatory fashion because he fell foul of the prophetic movement, and his courageous and largely successful leading role at the battle of Karkar, where the mighty Assyrian empire was halted in its western drive, is completely ignored. Jehu, who overthrew the dynasty, is presented in a favourable light, even though he was guilty of some terrible crimes against all human feeling, plunging the nation into something very like civil war and so weakening it that he became the first Hebrew king to pay tribute to the Assyrian. He is favoured because he shared the religious views of the Deuteronomic editors, at least as regards the supremacy of Yahweh in Israel. It is this kind of consideration which leads us to be suspicious of other Biblical narratives, such as the story of the downfall of the house of Saul together with that of the house of Eli, and the rise of the house of David together with that of the house of Zadok, since they were obviously written from the point of view of the supporters of the successful party. The possible parallel with the unflattering portrait of Richard III of England left us by the Tudor propagandists serves at least to introduce a question mark into our estimate of such presentations.

To seek in other historiography for possible parallels to situations in

4. A paper read to the British S.O.T.S., July, 1953.
5. *B.R.J.L.*, vol. 34, no. 1, September 1951, pp. 166f.

Hebrew history reminds us that a great deal of attention has been paid recently by professional historians to the way in which religious or political or philosophical considerations can set the pattern in which a nation comes to view its own past. Thus the Englishman Herbert Butterfield writes: "Whatever we may feel about the defects of our own Whig interpretation of history, we have reason to be thankful for its influence on our political tradition; for it was to prove of the greatest moment to us that by the early seventeenth century our antiquarians had formulated our history as a history of liberty."[6] Elsewhere he has remarked that Magna Carta, a truly feudal document safeguarding baronial power, was made the symbol of English democratic ideals and credited with aims which it does not in fact envisage.[7] Again with regard to Germany in the nineteenth century he says: "The historian in fact played an important part . . . for in effect it was he who said to the country: 'See *this* is your tradition, this is the line which the past has set for you to follow,' " and he adds: "The problem, What is wrong with Germany? has really culminated in the question, What is wrong with the German historical school?"[8] Elsewhere he uses strong language to emphasise his point: "History is all things to all men. She is at the service of good causes and bad. In other words she is a harlot and a hireling, and for this reason she best serves those who suspect her most. Therefore, we must beware of saying 'History says . . .' or 'History proves . . .' as though she herself were the oracle; as though indeed history, once she has spoken, had put the matter beyond the range of mere enquiry. Rather we must say to ourselves: 'She will lie to us to the very end of the last cross-examination.' "[9]

Such sentiments expressed by a professional historian of Professor Butterfield's standing clearly must have very serious implications for a religion which maintains that history is "the chief medium of revelation." The problem thus raised for Biblical Theology is well put by J. N. Sanders in his review of C. K. Barrett's *The Gospel According to St. John*. He quotes from the introduction to that commentary: "John asserted the primacy of history. It was of supreme importance to him that there was a Jesus of Nazareth who lived and died in Palestine, even though to give an accurate outline of the outstanding events in the career of this person was no part of his purpose," and comments: "This may well be true, but if so, it is important to have some opinion how much in the Gospel can be accepted as historical. It is a nice question how far one can go in maintaining both that John asserted the primacy of history and that one cannot place reliance on his historical details."[10] Hoskyns and Davey showed twenty-five years ago that this was the "riddle of the New Testament,"[11] but it is now becoming clear that it is in fact the riddle of the Bible as a whole.

6. *Man on his Past*, p. 27.
7. Cf. *Englishman and his History*, pp. 25f., 56f.
8. *Man on His Past*, p. 27.
9. *Whig Interpretation of History*, p. 131.
10. *N.T.S.*, vol. 3, no. 1, p. 74f. Cf. C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel According to St. John*, p. 117.
11. *Riddle of the New Testament*, London, 1931. Cf. p. 14: "The riddle is in fact a theological riddle which is insoluble apart from the solution of an historical problem: What was the relation between Jesus of Nazareth and the Primitive Church?"; and also,

When therefore we look more closely at the historical element in the Bible, we find that it has to be distinguished from a fairly small body of myth, e.g. Genesis 1–11, or in eschatological form Ezekiel 38–39 and the Book of Revelation, and from a larger assortment of legend, e.g. the Patriarchal narratives, stories of the infancy of Moses, Samuel and Jesus, and of the youth of David, the Elisha saga, some of the Gospel miracle-narratives, and the differing accounts of the post-resurrection appearances of Jesus. That any particular scholar might want to vary the list is beside the point so long as he admits that the category of legend is properly applicable to any of the Biblical narratives. But when history has been isolated in this way, we now see that we are left not with solid and undeniable fact, but with what we may call "ideological history," that is, a record conditioned and shaped by partisan or theological considerations. In the case of the Biblical narratives we may describe that ideology as "faith in God." Hebrews told the story and shaped their view of Israel's past in such a way as to expound that past as *heilsgeschichte*—"salvation-history." But the Bible itself shows that theirs is not by any means the only interpretation possible in an instructive passage in Jeremiah.[12] On finding the worship of the Queen of Heaven prevalent in the Egyptian diaspora, the prophet indignantly asks them whether Yahweh's punishment of such practices, culminating in the destruction of the Judean state, has not yet taught them to refrain; but they repudiate his interpretation of their disaster. When they worshipped the Queen of Heaven in the old days, they say, all was well with them: it is only since the Deuteronomic Reformation interfered with that worship that all these troubles have come upon them. They therefore are going to return to the worship and protection of the goddess. Thus the Biblical interpretation springs from a prior faith in God and we are not surprised to find that this interpretation supports and confirms that faith. Nor, on the other hand, are we greatly impressed, since obviously we are operating in a tightly closed circle.

Nor will it meet the difficulty we are discussing to reply that "the chief medium of revelation" is not the history as written but the actual events themselves, for we have no knowledge of the events except as recorded for us in the Biblical narratives. The only history which can be for us a medium of revelation is that written by the historiographers. Thus our enquiry is driven back to two fundamental questions: what is the nature of written history and in what sense can that history be said to convey any meanings or implications of any kind and so prove at least capable of being a medium of revelation?

II

In answer to the first of our questions we may recall H. Wheeler Robinson's insistence that history is "event plus interpretation."[13] We have already

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p. 79: Is "the Jesus of History wholly submerged in the New Testament, or does that history rigorously control our New Testament documents?"

12. Jeremiah 44.

13. *Redemption and Revelation*, p. xl.

drawn attention to the way in which ideological or doctrinal considerations impose themselves upon men's accounts of their past, but we now need to recognise the full implication of the fact that it is indeed impossible to write history without imposing some kind of pattern or meaning on to it. To give an account of a fact is indeed to interpret it. The event by itself is a bare abstraction which we can distinguish in thought but never know in reality. Even the annalist interprets his material in a rudimentary way when he chooses some facts for preservation and rejects numberless others. Nevertheless, the fact that there is an inner core of bare event to history—what Wheeler Robinson called the "actuality" of history—is of the greatest importance, for in it we meet the *datum* of history, that element which gives historical study its objectivity and ties it down to the world of observed fact.

These considerations lead us to observe that it is not a reproach to be laid against Biblical history that it is ideological in character, since all history is so to a greater or lesser degree. W. F. Albright discusses this point in an encyclopedic chapter entitled "Towards an Organismic Philosophy of History" in his book *From the Stone Age to Christianity*. In the course of a survey of the work of outstanding philosophers and historiographers like Hegel, Ranke, Toynbee, Sorokin and the historical determinists, Marxian and otherwise, he says of the German "positivistic" school that "whatever happens to future history, scholars must always be profoundly grateful to the men who were the first to realize the supreme importance of accuracy and completeness, both in defining facts and in explaining changes. However, it should also be rather obvious that the historian cannot limit himself forever to the accumulating of new facts and explanatory theories. If he should go on indefinitely without trying to interpret and classify his data, history would eventually collapse under its own weight. Natural science has only been able to maintain its own effective life and to progress towards new triumphs by periodically ordering its house and simplifying the task of the scientist by classifying its masses of heterogeneous data under inclusive rubrics which we know as 'natural laws.' This also the historian must endeavour to do, though his task is far more difficult, owing to the vastly greater part which caprice and indeterminancy play in the domain of human affairs."[14] The historian then cannot avoid imposing some kind of "organismic" pattern upon his facts and in so doing he interprets as well as records his history. The Biblical historians are not and could not be exceptional in this respect.

Nevertheless, there is a point at which such interpretations become destructive of the actuality of history, and facts are contravened in order that the interpretation may be unimpaired. Thus Winston Smith's task in George Orwell's *1984* was to "correct" previous issues of *The Times*, so that official records only contained what conformed to the Party line; and if the line changed speeches delivered earlier had to be "corrected" to the new

14. *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, p. 48.

orthodoxy. In all the Bible, there is only one parallel instance, I believe, of such an activity. In Deut. 27:4 we read *Ebal* as the name of the mountain on which an altar was raised by Mosaic commandment, but the Samaritan text is obviously correct in reading *Gerizim*, since the latter was the mount of blessing and the former the mount of cursing. We certainly meet with such things as aetiological legends which justify the social subordination of the Canaanites and Gibeonites at a later age (Gen. 9:25; Josh. 9:23), and we find ourselves questioning whether Gideon did disavow all intentions of kingship (Jud. 8:23) or whether this account of the offer of a crown and his reaction to it does not reflect the Deuteronomic editors' dislike of kingship. Similarly, we strongly doubt whether Uzziah's leprosy was really due to an attempt to arrogate priesthood to his kingship (II Chron. 26:16) or whether the story as now told is not rather part of the priestly pretension in the face of a kingship which had from the beginning a sacerdotal aspect. Again, we may recognize that the needs and interests of the Primitive Church have largely determined the choice and conditioned the presentation of the materials in the Gospels, in the way with which form-criticism has made us familiar. But in none of these instances (as distinct from the *Ebal* reading) and the many similar ones which could have been adduced, does it appear that the historians deliberately set out to falsify the actuality of event. C. P. Scott of the *Manchester Guardian* was in a greater tradition than perhaps he knew when he said, "Fact is sacred, comment is free." Of course, it can be argued that the Biblical writers were not historiographers, but some other class of writers peculiar to the Biblical literature, but in that case we are deprived of written history in the Bible, and history as the chief medium of revelation has vanished also.

Moreover, it would appear that in Biblical historiography taken as a whole, the event created the interpretation rather than vice versa. This is where the evidence of the archeologist and the prehistorian become of primary importance to the theologian, for they substantiate what Israel's tradition affirms, that she originated in Mesopotamia, of Aramean stock, that she had experience of Egypt, and that the smell of the desert lingered about her. We find it easier to think that a series of dramatic events, interpreted by a prophetic personality,[15] put the idea of a Redeemer God into Israel's mind, than that nothing very much happened but somehow she got the idea it had. Again, to look at the Biblical story at the other crisis point, it appears that certain events took place in the life of Jesus and in the company of his disciples, which led them to say, "Truly this man is the Son of God," in a very different sense from that in which the centurion first used the words, and this in the face of their own ingrained and prized monotheism. It was the facts which forced them to a conclusion which left them and the Church down through the ages to grapple with the problems, "How can God be One and more than one?" and, "How can

15. H. H. Rowley has consistently emphasized the importance of the interaction of event and personality. Cf. *The Faith of Israel*, p. 40.

Jesus be Man and God at one and the same time?" What does not appear in the least probable is that someone conceived the idea of Incarnation and then imposed it on so intractable a set of facts as those contained in the Gospels.

We may therefore say in answer to our first question that history is event plus interpretation, but that in sound history it is the event which controls the interpretation and not vice versa. To that we may add that in the Bible it does appear that the events gave birth to the interpretation, rather than that the interpretation was conjured up from elsewhere and imposed upon the facts. Nevertheless, we must recognize that once the interpretative principle that God is purposive in history on mankind's behalf was established in the writers' minds, then that was used by them as the clue to all history, and they were often guilty, probably unconsciously, of shaping detail in order to bring out this significance more clearly. It is this same process which brought their myths and legends to bear the same significance as their history, and thus the myths and legends are truly part and parcel of the one Biblical presentation. As Cullmann puts it, they are in the one linear development of Biblical time,[16] and this is true even though in themselves they belong to an absolute era which is not part of history at all.[17]

We may now turn to our second question: how may history be the medium of revelation? Clearly a bare incident in history has nothing to tell us about God. "Boaz begat Obed" (Ruth 4:21) purports to be a fact of Hebrew history. Of itself it tells us nothing more than the fact of Obed's paternity. But when we know that Boaz had married Ruth the Moabitess, and that it was by her that he begat Obed and became David's great-grandfather; and further when we know that in the days of Nehemiah and Ezra there was a particularist party which forbade mixed marriages and which wanted to impose strictly the Deuteronomic law which debarred anyone of Moabite descent "to the tenth generation" from associating themselves with Israel[18]; then that fact of Obed's paternity becomes highly significant. We are at liberty to say that by means of this fact, God gave the lie to the particularism of Israel, fore-seen and fore-denied. This implies something very remarkable about God's character. But this revelation of God's character lies not in the bare abstract fact but in our interpretation of it, by relating it to one series of facts, and by posing it over against another series. In other words, history can be the medium of revelation just because it is event plus interpretation, and it is the interpretation rather than the event which can allow history to function in this way.

If, however, we note that the Book of Ruth shows signs of having been written about the time of Nehemiah-Ezra, and suspect that it is a historical novel rather than history as such, then we may think that our statement "Boaz begat Obed" is not an historical fact, and that Ruth the Moabite woman is only the beautiful creature of the author's imagination. Then it

16. *Christ and Time*, p. 94.
17. Cf. Frankfort, *Before Philosophy*, p. 35f.
18. Neh. 13:1–3; Deut. 23:3.

is no longer God who is to be seen as preparing David's descent in such a way as to controvert Israel's particularist party: rather, it is the author who is controverting their teaching, and that tells us something about the author's concept of God, but nothing directly about God Himself. Thus whether a statement is or is not a fact can be highly significant and if the actuality of Biblical history were ever to be seriously undermined, the validity of its claim to be a medium of revelation would be equally called in question. *While when we say it is in the interpretation of event that the ability of history to be a medium of revelation resides, nevertheless it only possesses that ability so long as it is the interpretation of the actuality of history. The Hebrew-Christian religion still stands or falls in so far as the facts it is based upon are true or false.* But we may add that so long as the main structure is true, the Bible record can afford—by its very nature must afford—a large degree of latitude as to detail.

III

It still remains true, however, that those who look for objectivity in the revelation of God in history are bound to be disappointed. As with all the other media of revelation, certain facts are put before us. We may if we will so construe them that they exhibit significant patterns whereby God himself is delineated. But the facts do not compel that interpretation. Indeed, we are often left to our own judgement as to whether they are facts. God never confronts man with so overwhelming a demonstration of Himself that there is left no room for disbelief. Rather, in history as in all other media, God gives to men the opportunity to exercise faith in Him if they will. Bible history is so told as to convey plainly the God-delineating interpretation. But the choice whether to believe or disbelieve is always ours. God speaks, but some say it thundered.[19] The Risen Lord confronts his disciples in Galilee, but some doubted.[20] The Christian religion is always a faith; never knowledge, sometimes not even conviction, but always faith.

There remains a further thing to be added. Those who live through a series of religiously significant events often claim not that in them they found a revelation of God but that in them they met God Himself. All those who have shared in that experience, or who in prayer and sacrament have known, however dimly, the immediacy of the Divine Presence, will understand their meaning. But as regards the history in the Bible we have to remember that we are dealing with recorded event, and therefore with the record of any such revelation. Thus the distinction which some have tried to establish between the revelation of God and the revelation of communicable ideas about Him, valid as it is for other discussions, falls to the ground in this present study. Nevertheless, even in our present discussion, the original experience of the immediacy of God is important, in that it reminds us that faith never sees itself as the human imposition of an

19. John 12:27–29. 20. Matt. 28:17.

arbitrary pattern of significance upon a series of events in themselves without significance, but rather as the recognition of a significance which is inherent in them because God Himself initiated the events in order to effect His purposes. Thus while it remains true for the philosophy of history, and therefore also for the philosopher of religion, that "histories" are man-made, and that therefore there can be no objectivity of revelation in them, nevertheless for the believer, and therefore for the theologian, there is an objective element in salvation-history in that it is an account of human history which corresponds to God's view of that history as His own purposeful activity. When of any event the believer exclaims: "This is the Lord's doing and it is marvellous in our eyes," he is expressing his conviction that God does initiate particular events in history, and that he has correctly divined such an event at that moment. Indeed, this is the Biblical concept of what is popularly termed a "miracle." It is an event in which God is revealed as working on behalf of His people. Whether that event is in accord with normal phenomena or contravenes that normality is irrelevant to the essential character of the "miracle": that in it God should be manifest as working out His purposes. This is implicit in the main Biblical terms for such events: "works," (*ma'asim*, *dunameis*) and "signs" (*'othoth*, *sēmeia*).

Thus we may return to the fundamental conviction of the Hebrew people that God is most clearly revealed in history and say that whether the revelation of God in history is seen or overlooked depends upon the seeing eye. Yet the revelation of God is not "in the eye of the beholder" but is in the *datum* of history. Therefore it is important that the facts should be correctly recorded and accurately assessed. We may again quote J. N. Sanders on the subject of the Fourth Gospel but give his words a wider reference: The Bible "is of value as a theological treatise only if it is reliable as an historical document."[21] We may recognize that while ideological tendencies display themselves at all levels and periods of the Biblical record, the main structure of Biblical history has received overwhelming authentication. True, its details are often so arranged as to emphasize the revelation in which it believes but seldom so as to pervert or destroy the actuality of that history. We may also affirm that the interpretation was initiated by the facts of history rather than imposed upon them. But we must recognize that the historical passages of the Bible now convey that revelation only to those who are already persuaded on other grounds of its truth, or who are willing to venture on that belief. In its historical passages as in all its parts, the Bible was written from "faith to faith."

21. *The Listener*, London, issue dated 11.11.56.

The Mystery of Israel
A Reply to Dr. E. Flesseman-van Leer

DAVID W. HAY

IN the last number of the *Journal* an article appeared under the title, "The Significance of the Mystery of Israel for the Church." The writer, Dr. E. Flesseman-van Leer, called for a Christian re-estimate of Jewry. Her challenge is so sharp that it cannot be allowed to go by default. It is one thing to demand that the past sins of the Church with respect to the Jews be repented of. It is quite another to demand a reparation that means revising Christian doctrines from their very foundations. Dr. Flesseman is aware that her views are not consistent with what the Church has taught through the ages. She says in regard to the Old Testament: "It has never been taken with sufficient seriousness by the Church from sub-Apostolic times" (p. 11). She is aware that what she is proposing amounts to a theological revolution: "For there is no theological doctrine which is not in some way affected by our understanding of Israel and the Old Testament. A decided reorientation in this respect is certainly due" (p. 12).

The exegetical foundations of Dr. Flesseman's position must first be laid bare. They are astonishing in their tenuousness.

1. Who are *now* elect Israel? Although believing that the Church is elect (p. 6), Dr. Flesseman's main purpose is to re-assert the continuing election of the Jews as such. ". . . Paul is absolutely certain that against all the appearances of his time, God did not, even in the moment of radical unbelief, cast away the people whom he had chosen from the beginning as His own (Rom. 11:2). Even in disobedience, they remain an elect people, 'for the gifts and calling of God are without repentance' (11:29)" (p. 8). But in simple fact, this is not what Paul says. He meets the suggestion that Israel's election had failed by denying it. "Not as though the word of God hath taken none effect. *For they are not all Israel, which are of Israel*" (9:6). It is not the case that "even in disobedience they remain an elect people," for the elect Jews are only those who have accepted Christ. The election of Israel has been fulfilled in the remnant who have become Christians (9:27). To be a Jew now means something different from what it meant before: "He is a Jew, which is one inwardly; and circumcision is that of the heart, *in the spirit, and not in the letter*" (2:28f.). But Dr. Flesseman will have us believe that it is still a matter of the letter (p. 8). Taking up the question a second time, Paul gives the same answer (11:1–10). Israel, *true Israel*—pace Dr. Flesseman—has come to Christ. "What then? Israel hath not obtained that which he seeketh for; *but the election hath obtained it*, and the rest were blinded" (11:7). This is Paul's main

point. It is an explicit statement that elect Israel is Israel within the Church, and it follows that the rest are not elect, as Paul does not hesitate also to say. Dr. Flesseman gravely mis-states the "problem with which Paul wrestled" when she describes it in the question, "How was it possible *after the Resurrection* for the Jews to reject Jesus as the Christ?" (p. 8). Paul plainly states that true Israel—represented in himself, the other Apostles, and hosts of others, who together are the remnant—*accepted* Christ after the Resurrection. It is mainly by omission of this vital element of Paul's teaching that Dr. Flesseman's position arises and that she is able to contemplate the possibility of an election of Israel that has not been radically affected by the Cross and the Resurrection. Yet it is very clear that for Paul and his associates the change is decisive, as he does not fail to show.

2. Paul teaches that the recusant Jews have been rejected. This statement may sound very harsh to a person nurtured on the notion of the "double decree," which tends to bedevil exegesis at this point. I Corinthians 9:27 is a good example of the impossibility of fitting Paul's thought into that system. Paul, an "elect" man, there speaks of his danger of "becoming reprobate." In Calvin's system, a man cannot change from the class of the "elect" to the class of the "reprobate." The one he belongs to is fixed long before he is born. Paul does not think in this way. For him, election is not a *character indelibilis*, as Dr. Flesseman would have it (p. 9). He asserts that God has never been bound by his election in such a way that every son of Abraham must be saved (9:6–18). By reason of his freedom God can indeed call men who are not sons of Abraham at all, except in the "spiritual" way of being men of faith (9:18, 24f.). Paul is in no way trammelled with the idea, now maintained by Dr. Flesseman, that the Gentiles have to be *added* to the Jews—and Jews "of the letter" at that!—nor would he have spoken derogatorily of them as being "permitted to join in" (p. 8). What happens is that Jews and Gentiles become a new man that the Jews themselves have never been before (Eph. 2:15). But if Jews remain Jews in the old sense they do not remain elect: "They which are the children of the flesh, these are not the children of God" (Rom. 9:8). Paul hopes that they will not be for ever unbelieving, but what he sees before his eyes and taking place by the crisis of the apostolic preaching is the fulfilment of the Lord's saying: "The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof" (Matt. 21:43. Cf. 8:11f.). For this reason he solemnly shook his raiment in judgment against the Jews and said: "Your blood be upon your own heads; I am clean: from henceforth I will go unto the Gentiles" (Acts 18:6. Cf. 13:46, 28:28). The elect cornerstone had become for them the stone of judgment (I Pet. 2:6ff., I Cor. 1:23).

The teaching in Romans is entirely of this order. Paul has no difficulty in speaking of them as having been cast off. "The election hath obtained it; but the rest were blinded" (11:7). Shortly after, he speaks of the "casting away" of the latter (v. 15, apobolē). God "spared not" the natural

branches (v. 21, ouk epheisato). God shows "severity" towards them (v. 22, apotomian). They are "enemies" for your sakes (v. 28, echthroi). It is very clear that the Jews as such have no election in themselves. If they are to be saved, they will have to be "grafted in again" (v. 23). Meantime they are "broken off" (v. 17). Not that the Gentiles may boast. It is not they who bear the root, but the root that bears them (v. 18). But now Paul is speaking of the *root*, so that no one will make the error of imagining that the broken-off branches bear the Gentiles. That "the gifts and calling of God are without repentance" (i.e. are irrevocable) guarantees nothing but God's faithfulness. It is a statement about him rather than about the Jews. He being what he is, their rejection does not necessarily represent their final state. They can be restored if they become Christians. Two things are evident. Firstly, the Jews outside the faithful remnant still have an undefined connection with grace through the fathers, the root (11:28). One must say *undefined* to emphasise the fact that there is nothing here like the Calvinistic doctrine of election. Secondly, they could remain permanently in unbelief. As Paul meditates upon the mysteries of Providence and the gracious things that have happened in connection with their very fall, his Christian speculations open up such a strong door of hope that he ends in a faith that all Israel will be saved. But this is a hope, not a dogma of election, and it can not be the basis of dogmatic, prophetic, or historico-philosophic inferences. The foundations upon which Dr. Flesseman would have us re-think our whole theology in a Jewish way are not to be found in Paul (pp. 10f.). He was the great resister of Judaising in his day. Could he be regarded as favouring theological Judaising?

3. So far we have considered Paul's answer to the first part of the question, What is the status of the Jews? It is that *vis-à-vis* the *elect* Church they are the *rejected* people. The second part of the question will be, How do the Jews stand in relation to unbelieving Gentiles? His answer is, "There is no difference" (Rom. 3:22, 10:12). Once more it is clear that to Paul rejection means no more—*and no less*—than it already means for sinful mankind in general. His whole aim in the opening chapters is to put Jew and Gentile on the same level as sinners. Similarly, when he later speaks of the hope of all Israel being saved, the possibility is conditional upon the salvation of all mankind (11:25, 31f.). Any thought of "election" for the Jews would carry universalism as a necessary corollary.

There appears to be a problem in Paul because he seems to affirm some kind of priority for the Jews in general and yet at the same time argues vigorously that there is no difference. The resolution of the apparent contradiction comes with seeing that the priority in grace is now matched with a priority in condemnation. Dr. Flesseman accepts the former but tries to obliterate the latter. A clear passage on this point is Rom. 2:9–11. While granting a priority to the Jews, he refers to it first as a priority in condemnation, and, while acknowledging a priority in reward, it is in order that on balance he may be able to say: "For there is no respect of persons with

God." His purpose is to deflate the Jewish boast (vv. 17, 25ff.). Circumcision makes no difference, because "true" circumcision is not a Jewish, fleshly matter, but a spiritual one (vv. 25ff.). Raising the question again, he comes to the same conclusion. The Jews have an advantage, "because that unto them were committed the oracles of God" (3:1f.). What, then, has their unbelief done? It has not made the faith of God of no effect (v. 3); it has exalted God's just judgment (vv. 5, 7); and thus their advantage has been taken away: "What then? Are we better than they? No, in no wise: for we have before proved both Jews and Gentiles, that they are all under sin" (v. 9; cf. 23). Paul's regular method is to reduce unbelieving Israel to the same position as unbelieving Gentiles: *Gentile religion* is an example of what the *Jews* did with their revelation (Rom. 1:23–5; cf. Ps. 106:19f.); the Jews with the Law are in the same position as the Gentiles without it (chs. 2, 3, esp. 2: 12, 15, 26ff.); if the Galatians adopt the Jewish Law, they will be relapsing into Gentile heathenism (Gal. 4:9). It is surely clear that Paul is squarely facing two facts: (*a*) In the historical economy of revelation, the Jews (i.e. the *fathers*) have or rather had an advantage. He had no desire to alter this fact: rather indeed he presses it upon the Gentiles (Rom. 11:18). (*b*) But he has a strenuous desire to insist that there is now no difference (Rom. 3:22, 10:12f.; Gal. 3:28f.; Col. 3:10f.). If the unelect Jews are to have salvation, they must accept it upon precisely the same terms as those upon which it comes to the Gentiles. "*If ye be Christ's*, then are ye *Abraham's seed*, and heirs according to the promise" (Gal. 3:29. Cf. v. 7). The Jews' Jewishness means nothing. "There is neither Jew nor Greek" (3:28). In the degree to which the Gentiles try to be added to the Jews they will be departing from Christ (5:1ff.).

In view of Paul's very clear teaching it is impossible to accede to Dr. Flesseman's request: "Perhaps it would be wise to refrain from calling the Church by the names, 'the true Israel' or 'the spiritual Israel,' which are not biblical in any case" (p. 13). The phrases may not occur, but their connotation is cardinal to New Testament teaching, and not least to Paul's. The rich pregnancy of the term, *the Israel of God*, derives entirely from its *new* meaning (Gal. 6:16. Cf. Rom. 2:29; II Cor. 3:6). In the people of God, Jew and Gentile, both transformed, are equal. "Through him we both have access by one Spirit unto the Father" (Eph. 2:18). The access is direct for both. Christ has "abolished the law of commandments contained in ordinances; for to make in himself of twain one new man, so making peace" (v. 15).

What we have been discussing is part of the universal theme of the New Testament that the Old Testament has been fulfilled in Christ and his Church.[1] But Dr. Flesseman does not accept this decisive principle. "Even today it is generally assumed that the Old Testament is inferior in significance to the New. It is regarded as merely provisional and preparatory

1. An excellent summary statement of this principle, with references, will be found in C. H. Dodd, *The Bible Today*, p. 70.

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revelation of which the New Testament is the fulfilment." She suggests that if we had the courage of Marcion and the gnostics, we would reject the Old Testament altogether, but on the grounds now that the ideas of the Old Testament are all more clear and recognizable in the New. "As if it were a question of ideas in Scripture!" (p. 11). But, of course, the reason why the Church has never rejected the Old Testament, while always maintaining in principle that the New Testament is superior to it, is that Christ has a special relation to God's revealing action in Israel. He came to fulfil the Law and the Prophets, and we must know what he came to fulfil. But the New Testament is about the fulfilment, and is therefore necessarily superior, as the man is superior to the child. And what we have here is not only a matter of ideas made clearer. It is a matter of divine *action* in Israel, consummated in Christ, and now looking to the Perfect Day. It is curious that Dr. Flesseman has not noticed that she reduces christology to a matter of ideas. "Is not Jesus Christ and His cross the full and luminous disclosure of precisely that election of man of which Israel is sign and witness?" (p. 11). The logic of this is that the Jews—unbelieving Jews!—give us the same as Christ gives us, but he gives it more clearly. Here is the heart of the issue. We can not exalt the election of the Jews without diminishing the election of Christ.

The Christian must assert with all strenuousness that God has now no purpose or standing for the Jews save the purpose and standing that he has for all men, viz. that of bringing them to Christ; that this purpose and standing can be found only *through faith*; and that therefore there is no room for thinking of God's dealing with modern Jewry *as a whole* (p. 10). The Christian, if he is to retain his name, must loyally follow Christ and the New Testament in rejecting all "literalism" with respect to the Jews, and that means rejecting the whole sorry company of Zionists, Dispensationalists, British Israelites, *et hoc genus omne*. He must also reject the not-much-more refined literalism that weaves a speculative Christian philosophy of history upon the notion of a continuing election of the Jews. Least of all must he allow such imaginings to endanger *assured* truth.

The Preacher's Use of the Book of Revelation

ALLAN L. FARRIS

PREACHING from the Book of Revelation is at once perplexing and profitable. The enigmatic, apocalyptic structure of the Book makes the task of exegesis formidable and exacting; but the fruits of such labour are doubly rewarding. The fact that there have been and still are many bizarre interpretations of the book ought not to deter the preacher. It should only make the preacher more aggressive in his search for meaning and more determined than ever to interpret the book in harmony with the rest of the Biblical message. "More than any other writing in the Bible," complains E. F. Scott, "it has attracted the fanatical and curious minded and the Church has been too willing to abandon it to them as their natural prey."[1] A much earlier commentator observing this tendency towards fantastic interpretation in the Church of his day writes, "Many have tried their hands at it but until this very day they have reached no certainty; and some have brewed into it many stupid things out of their own heads."[2]

We today, however, are in a much better position. Beginning with Albert Schweitzer's *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, New Testament studies have been more and more concerned with the eschatological nature of the New Testament message. Extrabiblical studies in the field of the Apocalyptic writings produced between the Book of Daniel and the Book of Revelation have provided an illuminating background for interpretation. The theological climate itself with its pronounced concern for Christology in an eschatological frame of reference has created a more sympathetic attitude towards the book than has existed heretofore. The historian's pre-occupation with the problem of meaning in history has also focused attention on *Revelation*, which is concerned with a theology of history. Furthermore, the demands of the totalitarian states which confront the Church in many parts of the world in our day create situations not unlike those which called forth the Book of Revelation. We have now a community of experience in which interpretation becomes considerably less difficult.

The Approach

In approaching the Book of Revelation the preacher must bear in mind as a fundamental rule of interpretation that it is "The Revelation of *Jesus*

1. E. F. Scott, *The Book of Revelation*, p. 188.
2. Martin Luther, *Works of Martin Luther, VI* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1932), p. 480.

Christ" (1:1). The purpose of the Seer of Patmos is to unveil Jesus Christ for us in the full magnitude of His Easter victory. The Book is therefore to be understood in the light of the whole Biblical message, particularly as it centres in Christology. John's primary purpose is to pull back the curtain, as it were, and to let his readers see Christ enthroned in splendour and girded with might.

In the second place the preacher must remember that the book is directed to a distinct and precise historical situation in which the primitive Church in Asia Minor found itself persecuted and oppressed by the power of the Roman State. The writer is forced to wrestle with an embarrassing dilemma which was painfully relevant to the early Church. How could Christ be the Lord of History and yet permit His Church to be so maligned and persecuted by the power of the Caesars? How could the early Church's creed concerning the Lordship of Christ embedded in the baptismal formula and in hymnody be explained in the light of the undeniable and deadly reality of Evil as it embodied itself in the Roman State? The problem was not academic for the writer. He himself is captive "in the isle that is called Patmos for the word of God and for the testimony of Jesus" (1:9). What can he say in the face of the prevailing situation so unpromising for the Christian Church? How shall he speak to his people? The message of the Book of Revelation and its peculiar form are the result of John's wrestling with this dilemma.

The cryptic form of the book is partly explained by the fact that it was an illegal document transmitted through the channels of the underground movement of the Church. The document with its message enshrined in visions, symbols, numbers, and mighty thunderings would have little meaning except to those for whom it was intended. "The book was intended to be enigmatic to outsiders, to the enemies of Christ and the emperor's censors, and at the same time a revelation to those who partook of the affliction of Christ and His kingdom."[3] Those for whom it was written had the key and the key involved knowledge of three things; the Old Testament, previous apocalyptic writings and the current events of their times.

One writer, after correctly observing that John's thought is saturated with Old Testament ideas, goes on to say that out of 404 verses there are 518 Old Testament references and countless echoes.[4] One need only examine the marginal cross references included with the Book of Revelation in most Bibles to see how largely Old Testament concepts and imagery figure in John's writing. Furthermore, it only takes a cursory knowledge of the Old Testament to see for example that the visions of the plagues (ch. 15) and the trumpets (8:7–21, 11:15–19) have their origins in such Old Testament events as the deliverance of the Children of Israel under Moses' leadership from the hand of the Egyptian Pharaoh (Ex. 7,8,9,10) and the fall of the city of Jericho (Josh. 6:1–20). Both events teach that God is active in

3. E. Stauffer, *Christ and the Caesars*, p. 176.
4. Preston and Hanson, *The Revelation of St. John*, p. 24.

His intervention on behalf of His people. He will judge the nations in the interests of the people who embody His will. John's purpose in using this material becomes clear. Rome (Babylon) may not hope to escape the judgment of God, for she has laid violent hands upon the people of God, the New Israel. Now God will actively intervene on behalf of His people. Judgements will inexorably follow Caesar's decision to "make war with the saints" (13:7). A precise analysis of the parallels should not obscure the main purpose of the writer to fasten attention on the fact of God's judgements in history, which in the Book of Revelation are Christologically interpreted.

The apocalyptic form is used because of the precise situation in which the Seer is writing. "An apocalypse," writes Anderson Scott, "is a '*Tract for Bad Times*' intended to encourage people suffering under the strain of oppression and persecution. The writer's object is to steel them to patience and endurance unto the end by the presentation in the most vivid form, of the fact which overrides all others, 'the Lord reigneth' and will surely come with recompense."[5] The Church in John's day was experiencing 'bad times' and he naturally follows that pattern of writing which had been a vehicle for enjoining hope and confidence for generations in the face of serious oppression and enslavement. There is however, this notable difference. The "Lord who reigns" becomes none other than "the Lamb who had been slain" (5:6) and is "alive for evermore" (1:18).

It is apparent, then, that one should not expect a revelation of a pattern of future events in this book. It is primarily addressed to a historical situation, a knowledge of which provides the third portion of the key for understanding. Professor Stauffer insists that "we may read the Book of Revelation with some understanding when we see it as the apostolic reply to the declaration of war by the Divine Emperor in Rome."[6]

There is nevertheless a future thrust in the book which undoubtedly shares in what J. A. T. Robinson in another connection describes as the "fundamental witness of the Apostolic Church—that this act of God (in Christ) inaugurated a situation which was on the one hand final, and on the other, required yet to be finalized."[7] This evident future thrust, however, ought not to detract from the fact that the primary reference of the book is to the tension of Church and State in the first century and the relation of each to the Lord of History.

The Historical Situation

Towards the close of the first century Rome was at the zenith of her power. Her territories extended from Scotland on the north to the African desert on the south, and from the Euphrates river on the east to the Atlantic ocean on the west. She was indeed as John described her, "sitting upon

5. C. Anderson Scott, *The Book of Revelation*, p. 11.
6. Stauffer, *op. cit.*, p. 176.
7. J. A. T. Robinson, *In the End God*, p. 63.

many waters" (17:1), ruling over many nations and multitudes and tongues (17:15, 13:7–8), and reigning "over the kings of the earth."

Economically Rome was in a most prosperous condition. Her trade and commerce had enriched a large multitude (18:11–14, 17–19). As a result a large portion of the free population lived in the lap of luxury (18:16–17). By way of contrast to, and perhaps as a consequence of, this excessive wealth there was a large proportion of slaves in the total population. John describes "a trafficking in the souls of men" as part of the commerce that makes up the economic picture (18:12–13). And as one would expect, such luxury had brought along with it a distinct decline in moral standards. The early Church stood aghast at the corruption it beheld on every hand. Small wonder John describes Rome as "Babylon the great, the Mother of harlots and the abomination of the earth" (17:5).

Persecution had broken out in Asia Minor around 95–96 A.D. The Church was driven underground by the violent measures of oppression. Domitian, the ruling emperor, was making war with the saints (13:7). The precise point at issue was emperor worship. Domitian (the Beast out of the sea) took his "divinity" very seriously, insisting on being called "Lord and God" (Rev. 13:6).[8] A highly organized and impressive cult (Beast out of the Land), making use of ventriloquism and other forms of trickery, was developed to perpetuate and actualize this fiction (13:11–15). More serious was the Emperor's decision to make acquiescence in the cult of his alleged divinity a mark of imperial loyalty. But no true Christian could offer sacrifice to the image of Caesar and say "Kyrios Kaisar" ("Caesar is Lord"). Such an act and affirmation was tantamount to blasphemy (13:12). "If the Roman state had had a loyalty test in any other form than that Emperor worship which was blasphemous for the Christians," Prof. Cullman points out, "the Christians would have been able to meet it in good conscience, and much bloodshed would have been avoided. So long as the State demanded a loyalty test in the form of submission to emperor-worship, there could be no peace between Christianity and the State, however loyal the Christians might be as citizens and however humane individual emperors. . . ."[9]

From the point of view of the authorities, Emperor worship was an excellent thing. It provided a cohesive bond which contributed greatly to the security of the Empire. Emperor worship was not only a matter of the Emperor's pride, it was also a matter of State policy. For Christians, however, such policy was anathema. How could *Kyrios Kaisar* even begin to compare with *Kyrios Christos*? How could one bow down before Domitian's image and at the same time confess Jesus Christ as the King of kings and the Lord of lords to whom were to be attributed the highest honours

8. Domitian was believed in some quarters to be Nero Redivivus and hence the reference to the "deadly wound being healed." The number of the man 666 is sometimes understood to spell out NERON KAISAR. The numerical equivalents of the Hebraic transliteration add up to 666.

9. O. Cullmann, *The State in the New Testament*, p. 79.

(5:12,13)? The crisis was grave and acute. To refuse to pay homage to Caesar's image was in the eyes of the world a form of treason. To be secure in one's property, job, or life, one had to be an avowed pagan. One could not even engage in the commerce of the day without handling coinage on which Domitian's image was imprinted together with blasphemous inscriptions (13:16–17). Nor was it easy to escape situations in which Christians would be forced to acknowledge their true loyalty. "The pagan multitude, who regarded the Christian position with hatred and suspicion, and the priests in whose interests it was to further the worship of the state, saw to it that everyone who was suspected of Christian sympathies either paid homage to Domitian or paid the penalty."[10] In those days if you wished to "smear" a person you did not call him a communist: you called him a Christian.

Conflict with the State was inevitable and the leaders of this Christian sect which refused to conform to State requirements were singled out for punishment. John, the leader of the Church at Ephesus, was captured and sentenced to a work camp on the Isle of Patmos just off the coast of Asia Minor. Engulfed by the overwhelming power of the State and yet with the ringing affirmations of the Christian faith clearly in mind, he takes up his pen to write. His purpose is clear; he desires to encourage his flock to remain steadfast and faithful by reaffirming his own basic theology of history. Christ would vindicate their faith because He is the Lord of History. Caesar could not hope to prevail. In fact Rome was already being destroyed. "Babylon is fallen, is fallen" (18:2). "Alleluia, the Lord God omnipotent reigneth" (19:6).

The Theology of History of the Book of Revelation

The conflict between Church and State around 95–96 A.D. is only a battle in the age long warfare between God and the powers of evil. The extensive power of evil is described in the Apocalypse under the symbol of the "great red dragon, having seven heads and ten horns, and upon his head seven diadems" (Rev. 12:3). The one challenge to this domination of Evil was Israel's faith. Her history is described under the figure of "the woman clothed with the sun and with the moon under her feet and upon her head a crown of twelve stars—and travailing in birth" (12:1,2). With the birth of the man-child (12:5), a new stage of the struggle was begun. Here was One who could effectively challenge the Evil one, variously designated as "Dragon," "Satan," "Devil" (12:9), and shatter his claim upon the souls of men and nations. The cosmic struggle is brought right into the stuff of human history. The warfare takes concrete form in the struggle of the Incarnate, Crucified, and Risen Christ with the powers of evil embodied particularly in evil men, institutions, governments and even religions. John is painfully aware that "the totalitarian state is precisely the classic form of the Devil's manifestation on earth."[11]

10. A. Burnet, *The Lord Reigneth*, p. 43. 11. O. Cullmann, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

As in the case of other writers in the New Testament, the Cross figures prominently in John's thinking. His thinking approximates what Gustav Aulèn describes as the *Christus Victor* aspect of the Atonement. Christ conquers the enemies of God and humanity by involving Himself in humanity's history and coming to grips with the Evil One who has embodied himself in the societies and souls of men. Throughout the Apocalypse, Christ is presented as the Strong One, the source of comfort to the suffering members of the Church, and the pledge of certain judgment to those who like Domitian blaspheme His name. "Lo, the lion that is of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David, hath conquered" (5:5).

Even the writer's frequent description of Christ as the Lamb does not detract from this picture of triumph. The Lamb is enthroned, majestic, victorious and omnipotent (5:6; 7:9, 10; 7:15–17; 12:11; 14:1–5; 17:14; 19:1–8; 22:3,4). John does not thereby exclude the thought, so long associated with the concept of Lamb, of Christ's offering Himself for the sins of the world, but obviously he sees something more in the Atonement than sacrifice. He sees also conflict and victory, struggle and triumph. As the Devil's greatest weapon is Death, so the Resurrection demonstrates the magnitude of the Lamb's greatest victory in wresting it from his grasp (1:18; 5:9–13).

At the Cross therefore John sees the powers of the Evil One who has been usurping the prerogatives of God definitely overcome and subjected to the will of Christ. Satan, in the language of the Book of Revelation, is bound (20:2). With the advent of Christ, the old age, dominated by Evil, is judged and overcome. God, in Christ, has asserted His true Sovereignty. Christ, by virtue of His death and Resurrection, has assumed Lordship over human History. The defeat of the Evil one is an accomplished fact. The purposes of God can no longer be finally frustrated by the powers of Evil. Christ is the Lord (5:12). "Alleluia: for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth" (19:6).

But what of the problem of Evil? How can John explain his own situation? He is captive on Patmos precisely because he has defied the Roman authorities in the name of Christ. Rome, whose Emperor is blaspheming Christ and ordering the wholesale destruction of thousands of Christians, is at the zenith of her power. As far as secular security and wellbeing are concerned Rome has never been in such a favourable position. Is not John then unrealistic in his assertion that Christ has overcome all his enemies by virtue of His victory at the Cross and through the Resurrection? Is he not indulging in fanciful speculation when he suggests that Christ is reigning now with the saints (14:1)?

John is well aware of the problem of Evil and its cruel and bestial existence. He does not underestimate the nature of the historical situation in which he is involved. The Beast, who gathers up all the evil and tyrannous characteristics of the previous kingdoms of the Mediterranean basin, is a power to be reckoned with (13:1, 2; Daniel 7). But John sees that the days

of the Beast are numbered because the power which lies behind his evil machinations is already defeated. Christ has already conquered that Power. The Beast is living on "borrowed time" and building on rotten foundations. Since the first Easter day, "other foundation can no man lay than that is laid which is Jesus Christ" (I Cor. 3:11). John shouts out at his captors, "Babylon is fallen, is fallen—Alleluia the Lord God Omnipotent Reigneth." Just because Caesar has failed to recognize the Rider of the White Horse, and has made war with the saints, he has sealed his own doom and that of his Empire.

John makes no predictions as to when this will happen but he is confident that it will take place. The nation, observes John, which commits itself to Evil carries within itself the seeds of its own destruction. Judgment may be slow but it is always sure. The nation which becomes counterfeit and sets itself up as a kingdom over against the Kingdom of God is already judged (18:2). The Kingdom which fails to be a Kingdom under God has already begun to decay. This confidence is derived from John's fundamental conviction that "the Lord God Omnipotent Reigneth," and on the basis of it he counsels patience and faithfulness.

Many theologians today are using the notion of overlapping ages to describe the strange situation in which Evil, although defeated, still continues to exist.[12] This idea suggests the kind of thinking in which the writer of the Apocalypse is involved. The powers of Evil dominant in the old age have been judged, defeated, overcome by Christ and His Death and Resurrection. A new age has been inaugurated in which Christ is the Sovereign Ruler. The old age, meanwhile, for reasons finally known to God, is allowed to continue, overlapping the new age and obscuring it from all those who have not eyes to see and ears to hear. It is possible for such to believe that the old age has never been effectively challenged, for "Satan is loosed a little while" (20:3). But the time in which he is permitted to exercise his "defeated power" will come to an end and his destruction will be complete and final (Rev. 20:10). Any power which Satan now exercises must be exercised with a view to fulfilling the perfect will of Christ. This is the nature of his binding and of his loosing.

The saints have, in actual fact, been ruling with Christ even though this rule is only visible to faith (Rev. 5:10). The Christian Church lives in both ages. Thus while she is caught in the despair, misery and destructiveness of the old age, her life is already hid with Christ in God. Through the Spirit she participates in the victorious life of her Lord and awaits in hope the day of consummation and final victory. The Church is embarrassed by the continued existence of Evil but she rejoices in hope, knowing that the decisive battle has been fought and won and the day of final victory draws near. The Church knows that evil powers cannot hope to win the day. They may win a skirmish, but they are losing the war. The issue has already been determined. Christ has already defeated them. The outcome

12. T. F. Torrance, *Kingdom and Church*, p. 119.

of the processes of history is certain. No power henceforth can effectively challenge the Will and Purpose of God Incarnate in Jesus Christ.

This theology of hope—a far deeper thing than mere optimism—is the basic theme of the book. Christ *now* is the reigning monarch, but His reign awaits a full and future disclosure. His Kingship, while actual *now*, is nevertheless veiled and obscured, but *then*, in the Great Day of His appearing, there will be no mistaking His Royal prerogatives. Those who have served the Evil one will perish with him, and every institution based on Satanic powers will be destroyed (20:10–15). Evil itself will be utterly routed and cast into the abyss. Those who have served the Lamb will enter into an experience of blessedness so inconceivably glorious that there are no standards of comparison in this life. John's use of negatives suggests the difficulty of describing the transfigured life which God has prepared for those whose names are written in the Lamb's book of Life (21:1–5, 22:3–5).

But one must not be satisfied with interpreting the last two chapters in an individualistic manner. Parousia describes that Final Act of God in which history is brought to its consummation, its vagaries judged and purged and its true meaning exhibited. There is, in short, a Last Judgment and General Resurrection, both of which "signify the belief that though the pattern of this world may pass away, yet those elements of historical life which are contributed by the material and physical aspects of the created order are not cast like rubbish on the void."[13] There is an interesting "earthiness" about the concept of consummation in the Apocalypse which should not be explained away by any allegation of crude materialism. There is a *new* heaven and a *new* earth, a *new* creation and a *new* Jerusalem, but the concepts heaven, earth, creation, Jerusalem, all suggest that what has belonged essentially to the present order is not dispensed with in the Consummation. Dr. H. H. Farmer shares the Apocalyptist's concern for history in consummation when he writes, "Christian Theology, on the whole, has tended to insist that the world is not merely instrumental to the fashioning of personalities, after which it will pass into nothingness, but will itself be somehow taken up in a transfigured form into the realized program of God."[14] Professor Filson writes in a similar vein, "The spatial, pictorial portrayal of this open manifestation is the vehicle of essential truth. Christ will act openly and appear clearly to all; he will prove beyond dispute that he has been and is the Lord; he will bring to climax and completion what God has promised His people."[15]

Conclusion

A friend of mine in 1954 attended the famous German "Kirchentag" meeting at Leipzig behind the Iron Curtain. State authorities, while they

13. E. C. Rust, *The Christian Understanding of History*, p. 297.
14. H. H. Farmer, *The World and God*, p. 304.
15. F. Filson, *Jesus Christ the Risen Lord*, p. 304.

did not forbid the meeting, had put every possible obstacle in the pathway of the planners. The theme of the conference was "Be Joyful in Hope" and the studies were based upon the Book of Revelation. My friend remarked in describing the gathering, "For the first time in my life the Book of Revelation came alive!"

The Book of Revelation sounds a note of triumph and confidence which the people sorely need to hear today. Evil powers have apparently made great advances in our generation. Nations have risen to power which neither know nor obey God. Officially some are opposed to the Church of Christ. Acts of restriction and violence are even now taking place. But as John sees it, such nations are building on sand. The superstructure will inexorably disintegrate because Christ is the Lord of history and the one sure foundation.

The seer of Patmos would give sincere and confident assent to the Evanston message. "We are not sufficient for these things. But Christ is sufficient. We do not know what is coming to us. But we know Who is coming. It is He who meets us every day—and who will meet us at the end—Jesus Christ our Lord. Therefore we say to you: Rejoice in hope."[16]

16. *The Evanston Report* (S.C.M. 1954), p. 3.

The Laity: Wholeness and Renewal in the Church

DONALD V. WADE

WE believe that God is calling the Church to express its mission not only through foreign missionaries sent by the boards, but also through an increasing flow of Christian laymen and women who go out across the world in business, industry, and government, and who do so with a deep conviction that God calls to them to witness for Him in all of life. The Churches should be alive to the strategic importance of the spread of the Gospel by such lay people."[1] In these words Norman Goodall speaks of world mission in a new era. Such words characterize the rising sense of urgency which is gripping the heart of the Church today. T. A. Kantonen, in a recent stimulating study,[2] refers to a remark by a European professor of theology to the effect that if the stewardship program of the Church is deeply rooted in living theology it may come to have the same significance for the twentieth century that the revival of world missions had for the nineteenth century. One is constrained to add that this must surely be much more than a hope; it is an absolute necessity within evangelical Christianity as it moves out into the increasingly challenging world of our time.

I

The idea of the *wholeness* of the Church has to do with unity considered in a more than merely structural or organizational sense. It has very important functional significance as far as the life, witness and worship of the Church are concerned. This means that wholeness, togetherness, unity, are not terms applicable only to the external relationships between denominations. They refer also to the internal state of each denomination as it understands itself before God and as it lives out His life in its body. More than this, these terms must be seen in their relevance to the specific life which is the story, the day-to-day history of each Christian. The Christian life is a whole, or total affair or it is nothing. The Lordship of Christ means that the things of Christ simply cannot be bottled up, held captive, in a building, a liturgy, a creed; it also means that He as Lord refuses to dwell *within* the human heart. A king does not simply dwell *within*, he rules *from* a certain place. The wholeness of a person is never adequately conveyed when one speaks of his "personality." Man exists in relationships with others and with

1. *Shock and Renewal*, compiled by Keith R. Bridston (N.Y.: Friendship Press), p. 62.

2. T. A. Kantonen, *A Theology for Christian Stewardship* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1956), p. 1.

things beyond himself. To speak, therefore, of man, not man-in-general, but this or that specific individual, we must know him as one who is involved, one who is intricately and inevitably related to his environment, the place where he is. It is very hard to think of someone without thinking also of his or her "place." A person is that "someone" partly because of that very place, moulded by it and in turn, either in joy or in sorrow and hardship, trying to mould it. This fact is pregnant with significance for the communication of the gospel in love. It means that the Church has to seek the man to whom the gospel is brought *within his relationships, his world.* The line of least resistance has been for the Church simply to call people sinners and then to throw the gospel at them.

The Social Gospel enthusiasts of a few decades ago tended to stress adjustments in man's environment. In the intervening years the concept of the Christian life as it pertains to the individual has undergone radical change. Not that it was devoid of specific significance in those days. Man was a soul to be saved, a value to be preserved, or even a body to be bettered. We have come to see that the Christian is a witness to the saving, creative Word of God, a Word that has to do not just with man's "eternal" soul but with all things in heaven and on earth. Undoubtedly the term *witness* is the key category in the Christian ethic, whether the latter is conceived in a personal or social sense. In either case it means a decidedly existential awareness of total involvement in the transforming work of God. It is to know the bearing of the Christian faith on the daily life, internal as well as external. One is appalled to think that there are many people in our churches today who think that Christianity is a kind of leisure activity or interest, to be fitted into one's spare time, something for Sunday, the "day-off"!

The recovery of these implications of the concept of wholeness in connection with the Christian life and the Church is of staggering significance. It is nothing short of revolutionary and it will surely demand a radical rethinking and reconstruction of much that has been taken for granted or glossed over altogether. *The focus of attention upon the laity is one major phase of the resultant quickening.* What is God saying to the Church in our day? A recent statement commended to the Churches by the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches makes the indisputable claim "that the whole Church shares Christ's ministry in the world and that the effective exercise of this ministry must largely be by church members, when they are dispersed in the life of the world." The analogy of salt is suggested as helpful in thinking of the life of the Church. It is brought together from all peoples, occupations and groups for worship and for other recognizable "organized activities." It is scattered, like salt, as its members, predominantly its lay members, disperse themselves in the life of the world. This dispersal is an indispensable part of the ministry of the whole Church and the double movement of withdrawal and return, of being assembled and being scattered, is essential to the Church's life.

The foregoing sounds very plausible indeed, but how are the laity to be

and to do what is required of them in the world? This is one of the most baffling and urgent problems facing Theological Colleges and Boards of Christian Education. The laity must be prepared for their distinctive ministry. The answer does not lie in finding a simple technique. Neither is it a matter of setting up laymen's organizations to fire new enthusiasms and interests. The lay issue, as H. H. Walz has written,[3] is "implicitly a question as to the nature and structure of the Church itself." A theology of the laity is sadly needed. We have had theologies of the ordained ministry, of the Sacraments, of liturgy, of the Word, of the Church, but not really of the laity. We are just nicely beginning our emancipation from the notion that the Church is largely clergy-dominated, existing to throw out life-belts into the world to save the souls of the laity. The position of the laity is now being viewed *positively* as an essential aspect of the nature of the Church itself.

So-called pastoral theology must come in for close scrutiny and analysis. How precisely, is a soul "cured" or "saved"? The answer must find for men and women that companionship of God which goes with them in the ways of their lives in the world. Religious instruction must surely be brought to bear directly upon the multitudinous questions of daily living in this world. It simply is not good enough to "tell about Jesus" or of "what Jesus did."

II

It would be almost useless to mention what actually is taking place among the laity, in order to meet the problem, if we did not see these activities, or experiments (for that is what they are), within the context of some such statement as the foregoing regarding the purpose which has brought them to pass, namely, *the renewal of the Church in our time in its coming to grips with its mission to the world.*

Many of the experiments now under way have as their basic aim the discovery of how to express the faith of the Christian within his daily work. Fortunately, there is a growing body of Christian teaching about work. It must be stressed, however, that the question of Christian vocation is a much larger issue than this. The vocation of the Christian is simply to *be* a Christian, twenty-four hours a day.

Space offers opportunity for but a brief report on a few of the different approaches to the life and work of the laity. Most major denominations are now undertaking the indispensable study required and important committees are at work. Early in the study it became apparent that the Church would have to be disabused of the notion that the term laity has to do with the male sex only. The co-operation of men and women in the Church is basic to wholeness and renewal when inspired and given dynamic motivation by a searching study of the Scriptures.

University Institutes (e.g., the Sociological Institute of the Dutch Reformed Church in Utrecht) are investigating certain phases of con-

3. H. H. Walz, "Lay, Theology of the Laity, Laymen's Work," *The Ecumenical Review*, Vol. VI, No. 4 (July, 1954).

temporary life and attempting to see them in the light of the Gospel. Then there are the very important meeting places such as the Evangelical Academies or Lay Training Centres in Europe and America. A recent booklet published by the Department of the Laity of the World Council of Churches is called "Signs of Renewal." It contains up-to-date information on the life of the Lay Institute in Europe. The Protestant Academies of Germany are prominent. Five of these are in the Soviet zone. Every year there are a total of about 700 Academy conferences in Germany and an average of about 60 people take part in each meeting. Three different types of meeting have been evolved. Firstly, there are meetings for occupational groups which bring together people from the same walk of life. Secondly, there are meetings at which general social problems are discussed. Thirdly, there are special conferences for training and meditation in which smaller groups of from 20 to 30 persons are given an intensive introduction to specific subjects. It is one of the basic Academy principles to facilitate an exchange of views, not only between people of the widest range of opinions, but also between Christians and non-Christians. The Academies have succeeded in opening up channels of approach to circles with which the Church had lost all contact. Bible study plays a large part and the assumption is that "Reflection by the man of today on the Word of God must be stripped of the paralysing solemnity which prevents him from reflecting where God invites him to reflect."[4] The missionary effort of the Protestant Academies "does not use the fishing-rod to extract individual souls from the pond of the world and bring them into a Christian environment. It uses a net which catches 'all sorts and sizes.' These, in the course of time, sort themselves out by means of a genuine attempt to grapple with their intellectual problems. Where the message of the Word of God is linked with a completely open-minded approach to men of this world and to their problems, it should be possible to avoid the Church becoming either secularized and wordly, or on the other hand degenerating into a ghetto of the pious."[5]

Speaking of Lay Training in Scotland, T. Ralph Morton makes the observation[6] that "we have come to accept the fact that there are two classes in the Church—the clergy and the laity. *We have made the Church clerical in a way unknown to the Reformers*: and that not so much by altering our idea of the ministry, as by accepting a quite new idea of the place of the church-member. And theology has become the preserve of the minister. No longer do we have the lawyer, the soldier and the poet interested and engaged in theology, as in the seventeenth century." Morton continues: "The Church finds it very difficult to realize that it is confronted by a quite new problem: that it has to deal with a laity unknown in the post-Reformation centuries whose needs cannot be met in exclusively

4. Hans-Reudi Weber (Ed.), *Signs of Renewal* (Geneva, Switzerland: Department of the Laity, World Council of Churches, 1956), p. 9.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 22–3.

ecclesiastical ways." The Iona Community and the Scottish Christian Industrial Order are trying to meet the situation. Certain sensitive if not prophetic souls in Scotland seem to be aware that some new pattern of congregational life has to be found.

"Kerk en Wereld" is the name of a well-known lay institute in Holland. It came out of the Nazi occupation. It was found that a living Church does not mean only preaching ministers but also, and above all, living laymen, *lidmaten* (members of the body). The Dutch Reformed Church has defined the task of the Institute as to "support and lead the re-Christianization of the Dutch nation." Correspondence courses are widely used in the training of Church members. Lessons are written in the style of personal conversation and have an evangelistic appeal. Each lesson ends with a couple of questions requiring a personal answer. Answers are returned weekly and sent back corrected. This course aims not just to train individuals, but also to form evangelistic teams, hence students in the same town are encouraged to study together, and they become evangelistic cells.

In Switzerland the Ecumenical Institute at Bossey is well known. For seven years it was directed by H. Kraemer who used the striking phrase: "The laymen are the frozen assets of the Church."

An important point to be noted regarding many of the Lay Institutes in Europe is that, generally speaking, the work is not just carried on as another organized effort within the Churches. The focus of the work is more or less outside the traditional parish pattern. Whether this kind of approach in North America would be fruitful or not remains to be seen. A few scattered efforts here and there indicate a measure of success in this country.

III

"The real battles of the faith today are being fought in factories, shops, offices and farms, in political parties, and government agencies, in countless homes, in the press, radio and television, in the relationships of nations. Very often it is said that the Church should 'go into these spheres'; but the fact is, that the Church *is* already in these spheres in the persons of its laity."[7] Hans-Reudi Weber[8] asks whether this last sentence is really true? Is it realistic? Are the Church-members in fact present in the world as the "laity," that is as the *laos*, the "people of God"? Is it not rather true that laymen and laywomen become gradually absorbed by the world because they conform to the spirit, the criteria and the hopes of the world? Do not most Church-members live a schizophrenic life, having two different sets of ethics, one for their private Sunday life and the other for their behaviour in the work-a-day world? Indeed, may we not ask to what degree the activities of the Churches *prepare their members for, or divert them from*, their ministry in the world?

7. *Report of Section VI, Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches*, Evanston, 1954.
8. *Signs of Renewal*, p. 59.

One of the great tasks of the Church is surely "to listen to its members speaking of their trials and difficulties, hopes and fears, opportunities and needs, and even simply about the facts of life in the world."[9] Modern man has been described as the man with no vocation. Meaninglessness is his problem. Often he feels that he has been "pitchforked into existence" without knowing why. It is a day of opportunity for the Church: "I tell you, lift up your eyes, and see how the fields are already white for harvest" (John 4:35, R.S.V.). The teaching Church must become a listening Church. How can this be brought about? One thing at least is certain. Christians will be unable to listen to one another unless and until they know how to listen to the Word of God.

This paper has sought to do no more than lead up to this question. Further discussion is necessary and contributions from laymen and professional theologians on this topic will be most welcome.

9. *The Ministry of the Laity in the World*, 1956 Statement of the Department on the Laity, World Council of Churches.

Reviews

An Historian's Approach To Religion. By Arnold Toynbee. London: Oxford University Press, 1956. Pp. ix, 318. $5.00.

No living historian has commanded greater public attention in our day than Arnold Toynbee, nor brought down upon his head more condemnation from fellow historians. That he should have been asked to give the Gifford Lectures at the University of Edinburgh in 1952 and 1953, and thereby to join a formidable array of theological thinkers, was a tribute to his world-wide repute, to the controversial nature of his views, and to the impressive philosophic and theological implications of his vast *Study of History.* The present book is a summary of Toynbee's religious views as presented at Edinburgh.

Toynbee was writing under a moral compulsion. "I had reached a point," he tells us, "at which the question 'What is our attitude towards Religion?' was calling for an answer too insistently for me to be able to ignore it longer." And since he felt his experience to be "one of the characteristic experiences of the living generation of the Western World" he saw himself called upon to set forth his views as a contribution to the current urgent enquiry in this period of basic spiritual crisis. For all the earnestness of purpose and emphatic presentation of belief he does not suggest that his view is more than one "among many possible alternatives."

Toynbee's approach to religion is that of an historian, we are told; and the historian's point-of-view is a recently acquired human means of breaking through the self-centredness to which all life on Earth is condemned. The historian's break-through is always limited and partial but it can, if pursued far enough, lead him to some overall view of history, of its pattern and meaning, and this, Toynbee feels, is a task that historians ought not to shirk.

It is clear from this that Toynbee's aim in *A Study of History* has been to discover not only pattern but meaning in history, to discern, if possible, a philosophy or theology. Part One of the present book is consequently a summary of his religious conclusions as developed in that work. Out of a study of the rise and fall of civilizations and of the related appearance and development of the higher religions, he emerges with a concept of "the new gospel" which has been "revealed in the higher religions" as they appear in history.

The tenets of this gospel are those "essential counsels and truths . . . valid at all times and places, as far as we can see through the dark glass of Mankind's experience up to date," and which are preached by all the seven living higher religions. These are a conviction: (1) that the universe does not explain itself; (2) that Man is confronted by a greater spiritual presence

than himself; (3) that Man's goal is to bring himself into harmony with this "Absolute Reality", with God; (4) that this cannot be done unless Man can rid himself of his innate self-centredness, or, as Toynbee constantly insists, of his Original Sin; (5) that God is personal as well as impersonal (Hinayana Buddhism is an exception here), and hence that the God-Man relationship is a personal one; (6) that God is Love, that He is ready to accept Suffering as a necessary consequence of Love, and hence that Man must understand and follow His example (two of the higher religions, Hinayana Buddhism and Zoroastrianism are exceptions to this view). This gospel, in Toynbee's opinion, represents Man's greatest insight into reality up to this time.

Has he discovered this as an historian? The historian's part would appear to be an analysis of the higher religions as they have developed throughout history. Whether or not Toynbee has made a correct analysis is something for the students of comparative religion to discuss but it is patent already that such authorities do not agree that Toynbee is correct in equating all the higher religions on the beliefs listed. But, if he is correct, the next question is, how does he know that this gospel is the best insight into reality? To this, Toynbee quite frankly replies, "These guesses carry us beyond the narrow limits of our historical knowledge; and this knowledge does not tell us how the spiritual light reaches, or is reached by, us." However, it does come; and it may be by "discovery," "intuition," and "revelation." Moreover, this light shines in all the higher religions, and has been "the cause of their historic success," these most successful and lasting of all human institutions. In other words Toynbee is at this point acting upon faith and upon intuitive knowledge as well as upon historical and empirical observation. It is therefore important to note that he places intuitive or poetic knowledge upon the same basis as any other way of knowing, it being to him just as "valid" and as "objective" as another.

On the basis of this gospel Toynbee strongly condemns modern nationalism as a particularly evil form of Man-Worship, of self-centredness, and as ominous for the future of our civilization since it is a revival of the main agent of collapse in the Graeco-Roman civilization. He also attacks the worship of Technology and of the Technician that has prevailed in Western civilization since the seventeenth century. If these secular substitute religions are faltering in popular allegiance at present, a third form of Man-Worship, that of the Oecumenical State, may now come to the fore in the form of a universal welfare state. In that event freedom is likely to perish in all except the religious sphere. Here Toynbee is a prophet of doom; indeed, there is something Orwellian about the flavor of this book. However, if the world state comes, it will presumably last a long time. In that case there will be a prolonged "time of testing" during which it will be well for all men to take a tolerant view of all the higher religions, which in this One World where distance has been annihilated, will all mingle together. From this experience in the end the "Truth," shed of all unnecessary historical accretions, may

well emerge, and with it, salvation. At this juncture one feels that Toynbee the prophet of doom has been tempered by Toynbee, the liberal-rational historian, even by Toynbee of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. The whole plea for tolerance, in fact, which is the chief mark of the book, along with the emphasis upon universal essentials of belief has a strong smell of the Age of Enlightenment. The appeal is to Reason, though the religious conclusions to which Reason is here the guide would never have been accepted by any eighteenth-century *philosophe*. Will they be accepted today? That remains to be seen.

This book is in reality more than an historian's approach to religion. It is the product of a great and penetrating mind, of a thoughtful human soul, of Arnold Toynbee, historian, missionary, and prophet.

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Studies in the Acts of the Apostles. By MARTIN DIBELIUS. London: S.C.M., 1956. Pp. 228. $5.00.

TOWARDS the end of his life Martin Debelius had begun to apply to the Acts of the Apostles the technique of Form Criticism which he had developed in his study of the Synoptic Gospels. The essays and articles which he wrote on this subject over a period of ten years have now been collected and translated by Heinrich Greeven and Mary Ling. The result is a book which contains a great amount of repetition but also a considerable amount of value for the critical study of the New Testament.

In these studies Dibelius affirms that Luke–Acts is unique among the books of the New Testament in that it was composed not for use within the church but for general publication, and he attributes to this cause the unique textual history of the Lucan writings. He argues that the Western text is the product of editorial smoothing of inconsistencies and gaps in the original, but also that the standard text represents an earlier stage of the same process, so that the original can in places be recovered only by conjectural emendation.

The literary character of Acts means, too, that it must be studied in the light of ancient historiography. In writing the Gospel, Luke was limited by his source material and by the example of those who had preceded him. But "in Acts there is a greater depth of original composition." Dibelius dismisses all theories of written sources behind Acts, including the "travel diary" of the "we" passages. He does believe, however, that Luke used an itinerary of Paul's journeys, a sort of log-book which gave the bare details of routes and stopping-places but none of the extended stories which were drawn from oral tradition. Such a document is needed to explain the mention of places where no church was founded, information "too dull to

be legend, too detailed to be fiction." Yet Luke used even this one written source with freedom, suppressing it where necessary (e.g. Acts 16:6–8) in the interests of theology.

It is in the speeches of Acts that Luke shows his true purpose as an historian. Dibelius concentrates his attention time and again on the unexpected character of these speeches. Why does Paul's one address to a Gentile audience occur in Athens where he founded no church? Why does he have to defend himself before the elders of Ephesus who must have been among his closest friends? Why in Jerusalem does he give his life history instead of simply rebutting the charge that he had taken a Gentile into the Temple? And why, above all, when the Jerusalem conference meets to discuss the work of Paul and Barnabas, does the whole argument turn on the episode of Cornelius? Dibelius' answer to all these questions is that the speeches are Luke's own composition and that he inserted them, according to the general practice of ancient historians, not to record what was actually said but to comment on the events he records and to draw out their implications. The meeting between Paul and the Athenian philosophers is "not an historical but a symbolic encounter" between Christianity and Hellenism, placed appropriately in the very heart of Hellenic culture, and described after the manner of the second-century apologists. Of the Cornelius story we are told that "Luke has abandoned an exact reproduction of history for the sake of a higher historical truth."

In his exposition of this higher historical truth Dibelius shows that behind Luke the historian is Luke the preacher and theologian. Luke's ultimate purpose is to show that the offer of the Gospel to the Gentiles as a universal religion is not an apostolic plan of Paul or even of Peter, but an unfolding divine strategy by which the apostles themselves need to be led step by step from Jerusalem to Rome.

The form-critical method depends too much on individual impressions to produce results which will command general assent, but no student of the New Testament can afford to neglect the impression made by Acts on the mind of a great scholar.

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A History of Training for the Ministry of the Church of England, 1800–1874. By F. W. B. Bullock. St. Leonards-on-Sea, England: Budd & Gillatt, 1955. Pp. 164. 20*s*.

The title of this work gives a good indication of its contents. It also has an introductory chapter dealing with the period 1539–1799. The book is concerned with England and Wales though an appendix provides notes on training for the ministry in other places throughout the Anglican com-

munion. A few facts are given concerning Anglican theological colleges in Canada. One date is not completely accurate and Newfoundland is listed separately from Canada.

Dr. Bullock is successful in telling us what took place during three-quarters of a century of training for the ministry. He has gathered together a great deal of material which is not readily available elsewhere. The book is suggestive in that we see the subjects which were being taught a century ago. It is also worth while noting certain of the methods and courses used. A quotation from the rules of Wells Theological College will illustrate this:

> The Students are required to attend the daily Morning and Evening Prayers of the Church; and to read, in turn, the appointed Lessons in the College Chapel. The time allotted for Lecturers occupies about two hours daily; and the Students, moreover, have at all times access to the Professors for assistance in their studies and for guidance in their Christian course. The plan of study consists of the Holy Scriptures in the original languages; Hooker, Pearson, Butler, with selection from the Fathers, and from other standard theologians; the Evidences of Christianity; Ecclesiastical History in general, with especial reference to her Doctrine, Polity, Liturgy, Articles and Canons; and Jewish Antiquities. Particular attention is paid to the subject of Practical and Pastoral Theology, in a course of Lectures grounded on the Ordination Services; and some opportunity, before leaving the College, is afforded for insight into the National System of Education; for visiting the sick and poor of the parish, and attendance at the Sunday School is insisted on. The plan of instruction embraces close examination of the several subjects for the term, as well as the criticism, interpretation, and application of the sacred volume. The Students have to prepare sermons once in a fortnight, to be submitted to the Principal, and at times to be read aloud before him. Latin Composition is required in the alternate weeks, by the Vice-Principal.

The contribution made by Charles Simeon to theological education receives its due importance; to candidates for ordination he was "gentle among them even as a nurse nourisheth her children." He certainly led the way for many changes and improvements. Some space is given to the work of C. J. Vaughan in bringing ordinands to his home and working with them. We might well take note of his methods and see if they could be used in whole or in part today in training older men who are seeking ordination.

What has been said will give some idea of the accuracy of the book and its merits. It keeps to the objects the author had in mind and provides a very useful store of information. It might have been better to lessen the number of extracts (giving additional references instead) and to develop matters which are important at present, but the book is not meant to give help in solving the problems of today. It does, however, show that when the Anglican Church started seriously to consider theological education there was a great deal of confused thinking and a lot of prejudice, both of which were overcome. In our similar situation today we can perhaps take hope. Yet we would look far before finding a parallel to the chaplain who examined two candidates for Orders in a tent on a cricket field, he himself being engaged as one of the players; or another chaplain who examined an

ordinand while shaving and stopped the examination when the examinee had construed two words. On the other hand, when the future Archbishop Benson did not know the date of the call of Abraham or that of the birth of Solomon, this was described as "most reprehensible ignorance."

Over seventy-five years ago Charles Kingsley made a suggestion which deserves serious thought today: "I sometimes dream of a day when it will be considered necessary that every candidate for ordination should be required to have passed creditably in at least one branch of physical science, if it be only to teach him the method of sound scientific thought." We should heed the words of H. P. Liddon who emphasises the need in theological colleges for a system of devotion, discipline, conduct, life:

> a spirit—a moral and religious atmosphere—which will justify and interpret its system to those who live in it. . . . It is not a monastery, because in a monastery men are bound by obligations which last for a lifetime, and which differ altogether from the restraints involved in spiritual preparation for clerical work in the world. It is not, on the other hand, merely a literary society of men of blameless and retiring habits. It is emphatically a home of discipline and training for the most difficult work that a human being can undertake—that of teaching and feeding the souls of others.

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La Grève de l'Amiante. En collaboration, sous la direction de Pierre Elliott Trudeau. Montreal: Les éditions Cité Libre, 1956. Pp. 430.

The Asbestos Strike in the Province of Quebec, which lasted from February 13 to July 1, 1949, was of more than immediate importance. Sociologists have remarked that, up to that time, three principal forces had built and dominated French Canadian society, the church, government, and business leadership. As a result of the Asbestos Strike a fourth influence has since exerted itself effectively, that of the Trade Unions.

For the past fifty years Quebec has been more industrial than rural. Popular thought and even leaders of church and state have not reckoned with this significant fact. The "Nationalists" have encouraged the French Canadians to attempt to live in isolation from the rest of the world. This has led to unreality in the accepted myths and attitudes.

After the war, social changes in French Canada, as elsewhere, were taking place more swiftly. Points of view, traditional assumptions, pressure groups, and the facts of daily life were more and more in conflict. A crisis was bound to follow.

P. E. Trudeau, a Montreal lawyer who is prominent among the increasingly articulate *avant-garde*, has summarized the situation:

> In 1949 the workers of Quebec, by their wages and salaries, earned more than two-thirds of our economic income. . . . For all practical purposes they counted

for almost nothing in our social thought, in our church, in our services of education and information, in our political parties, in our deliberative assemblies, and in the legislative and executive functions of the state.

In 1949, the memorable asbestos strike took place because the industrial workers of Quebec were suffocating in a society encumbered with inadequate ideologies and oppressive institutions; because the importance of the working class to the nation was out of all proportion to their lack of prestige . . . because our systems of thought and our labour policy did not take sufficient account of the fact that we had become an industrial people. . . .

We were living at the end of an age, just at the stage where our social structures—moth-eaten because made for another period—were ready to break down.

It was the date that was important and not the place, nor the particular industry.

The authors of this scholarly symposium have, however, used the particular event as an excellent illustration of the forces at work in the social life of French Canada. This they have done by a detailed and objective study of the various phases of the strike in its social and historic setting. Chapters are devoted to such subjects as the following: the financial history of the asbestos industry, the history of unions in the industry, a detailed account of the strike itself, a study of the negotiations, the church and the conflict, the strike and the legal structure, the press, the consequences of the strike, and the subsequent development of the labour movement. The editor contributes a long social study of the Province of Quebec at the time of the strike, in which he shows a marked leftist tendency.

The Roman Catholic Church appears in an interesting and varied light. In French Canada the clergy are in intimate relationship with the whole fabric of society, so that the entire study touches on the social attitudes of the clergy, and the religio-social trends among the people. The situation may be summed up in some quotations from Trudeau,

> It is important to distinguish clearly between the Catholic social doctrine as outlined by certain popes . . . and that which was understood in and applied to French Canada. . . . This was nothing else than the continuation of our traditionalist assumptions, covered with the varnish of papal authority. . . . We avoided all political action which might have brought about economic reforms. . . .
>
> The immense zeal of the clergy to assure the *physical* presence of the church amid our social tribulations contrasts in a tragic way with their remoteness from reality on the intellectual and moral levels.

During the strike itself the attitudes of the clergy varied tremendously. A document was circulated, almost certainly written by a certain Jesuit, which argued that the strike was Marxist in inspiration and leadership. On the other hand, one of the parish priests of the town of Asbestos gave understanding guidance as pastor to the body of the strikers, who were conspicuous for their sanity and social responsibility, even under serious provocation.

Great need inevitably arose among the strikers and their families. At the

end of April the bishops of most of the dioceses of the Province of Quebec gave explicit instructions about collections to be taken at the church doors for relief purposes. The sum of $167,558.24 was given by this means.

Father Gérard Dion, of the Faculty of Social Science of Laval University, has written the chapter on "The Church and the Conflict." It is illuminating, and very thoroughly documented.

It was suggested in the English-speaking press that the resignation of Mgr. Charbonneau from his post as Archbishop of Montreal, which followed these events, was due to certain reactions to the attitude he had taken. This is definitely denied, and it is pointed out that Mgr. Desranleau, the Bishop of Sherbrooke, who was equally sympathetic to the strikers, was promoted to the rank of Archbishop just two years later.

Mgr. Maurice Roy, the Archbishop of Quebec, became not only the mediator, but the effective interpreter between the opposing sides, greatly respected both by the Union leaders and the officials of the Canadian Johns-Manville Company.

In his conclusion the editor says,

> The church in Quebec seems to us much divided. Among laymen, accusations of *integrisme* and *progressisme* are tossed about. And among the clergy, the "resignation for reasons of health" of Mgr. Charbonneau, and the unexpected death of Mgr. Desranleau, have removed the two principal supporters of the workers' cause. Certainly there remains a courageous and dynamic wing of the "young" clergy. . . . The Trade Union movement still suffers from great ignorance in clerical circles. This general ignorance passes through all the nuances from apathy, mistrust, fear and sympathy to pity.

It is to be hoped that *La Grève de l'Amiante* will find a place, with such volumes as Mason Wade's monumental *The French Canadians, 1760–1940*, and the bilingual symposium *Essais sur le Québec Contemporain*, edited by John-Charles Falardeau, in the libraries of all universities and theological colleges in English-speaking Canada, and that it will be widely studied among those who would interpret Canadians to one another.

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The Ten Commandments. By Solomon Goldman. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956. Pp. xxv, 225. $3.75.

This book is a posthumous work (edited with an introduction by Maurice Samuel) of an eminent Chicago rabbi who died in 1953. It is part of a commentary on the whole of the Old Testament which the author planned, and is described as "the closing section of his third volume, the last he lived to prepare." The first half of the present work is "Text and General Commentary." This comprises an English translation of Exodus 19:1–25; 20:1–18 (English 1–21), a review of the criticism of the Decalogue, an

exposition of the author's view of the Mosaic origin of the Ten Words, and an excellent treatment on pp. 68–82 of the Decalogue's features as a religious code. On pp. 82–90 there are some comments on the Christian attitude towards the Commandments. The second half of the book (pp. 101–92) is entitled "Textual Commentary," and is in fact a verse-by-verse commentary on the forty-three verses from *Exodus* mentioned above. If we keep in mind the price of the volume and the number of verses commented on, we may conclude that we have here the most expensive commentary on the market. The work is painstakingly done, but the profusion of references to and quotations from numerous authorities sometimes obscures the main point. The book concludes with an impressive twenty-eight page bibliography.

The great merit of this work is that it presents in temperate language the credo of a Jewish rabbi. He was manifestly a man of deep religious faith and he wrote with sincerity and conviction. He has given us a very welcome insight into the heart of Judaism in this generation and for this we must be grateful.

On the other hand, as a biblical commentary and as a discussion of the Ten Commandments this work is not conceived in the critical spirit and it has little to say that has not been said before. It is actually unprofitable to isolate a few verses from *Exodus* and comment upon them apart from their larger context in the book of *Exodus* and the Pentateuch. As for the Decalogue, this is part of a much larger question, viz., the history of the religion of Israel, and this in turn rests upon a critical appraisal of the available source material, but neither of these matters is adequately dealt with. The truth would seem to be that while Rabbi Goldman knew something of biblical criticism, the critical world was one in which he did not move about too comfortably and he shied away from many of its implications. Nor were his interests theological, and his book therefore offers no treatment of the theistic concept of revelation either to Moses, or to Israel as a whole, or to mankind.

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A Book of Worship. By G. Stanley Russell. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1955. Pp. viii, 106. $1.50.

In his small *Book of Worship*, Dr. Stanley Russell has made available prayers and Orders of Service which he has used in his pastorates in Clapham Congregational Church, London, England, and in Deer Park United Church, Toronto.

The conduct of public worship is rightly receiving increasing care and concern in the whole Church. Careless and sloppy prayers are inexcusable

and yet many ministers are more careful of their sermons addressed to the people than of their prayers addressed to God. Surely to offer to God adoring and acceptable worship is the highest act of the human soul and calls for the most exalted effort which man can undertake.

The Invitation preceding Dr. Russell's Communion Service seems especially beautiful and intimate:

> Come, not because you must, but because you may, not because you claim to be righteous, but because you desire to be; not because you demand heaven's rewards, but because you need heaven's help; not because you wish to express some mental opinion, but seek a spiritual presence, to acknowledge a gracious and loving Saviour, and to show forth the Lord's death until he come. Wherefore, putting away all fears even, and perhaps especially, the fear of personal unworthiness—let the Presence which spake peace in the Upper Room at Jesusalem, which, throughout all ages and races, hath ever reassured his own, now bring his benediction once again to your waiting and adoring hearts.

There is also included and Order of Service for Easter and Christmas Communions.

In his Order for a Funeral Service there is a carefully chosen Scripture Lesson, followed by an intimate and tender prayer. Dr. Russell says frankly that he would not use "the hopeless passages," as he calls them, from Job, "which only increase the gloom and have no Christian relevance." It is interesting to note that he has at least two prayers, not for "the dead," but for "the departed," for those "who have passed into the unseen." His prayer for "the beloved departed" is so tender and beautiful that it could not be resented even by those who are unaccustomed to such prayers.

Many ministers will be pleased with the special Services for Inducting an Associate or Assistant Minister, for the Installation of Officers of the Woman's Association and the Woman's Missionary Society, the Dedication of Young People's Workers and the Ordination of Elders. The Services are preceded by a paragraph giving the objects of the Woman's Association and the purposes of the Woman's Missionary Society.

There are Litanies of Supplication, Thanksgiving and Intercession, and Litanies for Christmas and Easter. There are thirty pages of warm, beautifully worded prayers for oneself, the church, the sick, the community, and for schools and colleges. Knowing Dr. Russell's life-long concern for world peace one finds it fitting that the first Prayer of Intercession on page 3 is for Peace, and knowing his love for boys, and his long interest in the Scout Movement, one is not surprised that the closing prayer in his book is for the Boy Scouts. All his prayers are free from verboseness and vain repetition. Dr. Russell has left out the traditional Prayers of General Confession, General Thanksgiving and General Intercession, since, like the Creeds, they are readily available elsewhere.

Dr. Russell's reference to the reading of the Old Testament Lesson is: "The Old Testament not only underlies the New, and possesses both literary beauty and spiritual inspiration, but it also provided the Bible, hymn-book,

and school-books of Jesus. The discarding of it in favour of an Epistle and Gospel from the New Testament is quite unjustified, and means that the Scriptures that Jesus knew and loved are given no place in a Christian Service."

Tributes have come from Dr. Elson of the National Presbyterian Church in Washington, where President Eisenhower is a member, testifying to his use of this book in various Services, as well as from Professor Kingsley Joblin, at one time Assistant Minister in Deer Park Church, now of Emmanuel College and an elder in Deer Park Church who writes: "After more than 15 years of persuasion, Dr. Russell is giving the whole church something of what we have shared in Deer Park for a quarter of a century. Devotions for public and private use that have been a blessing to us we have not withheld from others."

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Kant's Weltanschauung. By Richard Kroner. English translation and Foreword by John E. Smith. Chicago: University of Chicago Press (University of Toronto Press), 1956. Pp. xii, 120. $2.00.

The primacy of Kant's influence in Western philosophy since the appearance of the first edition of the *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781) can hardly be questioned. His works embodied the most deeply-rooted tendencies of modern philosophy and prepared the way for a whole new set of expressions of those trends. In consequence, a thoroughly ill-assorted collection of philosophical doctrines have sought refuge under his mantle—ranging from the most radically critical type of scientific empiricism, implacably hostile to all ontological reflection, to the great idealistic systems of his German successors and the more recent interpretations of the "existing" subject in personalistic and voluntaristic terms.

It is not surprising that historians of philosophy should have found so embarrassingly influential a thinker something of a challenge, and that at least two important lines of interpretation can be traced. Most readers of English-language histories will probably be more familiar with the picture of Kant as essentially a scientific empiricist, who just manages to evade the negative ethical and religious implications of "scientism" by a desperate appeal to moral experience and its necessary postulates. Such a picture does not necessarily exclude an honest recognition of Kant's own ethical and religious concern, but its central feature is his awakening from his "dogmatic slumbers" by Hume's scepticism. It is to this tradition of exegesis that influential contemporary philosophies of science belong.

Richard Kroner, Professor at the University of Kiel before the rise of National Socialism, and more recently at Union Theological Seminary and Temple University, and author of a brilliant study of the development of

German idealism (*Von Kant bis Hegel*, 2 vols., Tübingen, 1921), approaches Kant's ruling ideas from a different vantage-point. Following older spokesmen of the "Heidelberg" school, like Windelband (as Professor Smith, of Yale, points out in his helpful "Foreword"), Kroner regards Kant's ethical concern as central, and argues that the other aspects of his thought are conditioned by the requirements of his ethic. As he sees Kant, the latter is neither an empiricist of the British type, preoccupied with the problem of knowledge, nor a true precursor of the systems of absolute idealism which dominated German philosophy in the next generation. Rather, he is essentially a moralist, who welcomes Hume's critical ideas as the instrument of liberation from a rationalistic metaphysics in which moral freedom can find no place, and who appeals to the implications of moral experience, not as a way of re-establishing metaphysics, but as the key to the replacement of metaphysics by a genuinely ethical and non-rational world-view. Kroner's thesis is well stated in three sentences from his first chapter (on "Ethical Voluntarism"). "If our ignorance were simply derived from the inability to know what we want to know, Kant's voluntarism would only be the outcome of an intellectualistic resignation, a kind of philosophical subterfuge, a miserable substitute for the truth not accessible to man. It is in keeping with the spirit of Kant's philosophy to interpret it as a doctrine which bases our metaphysical ignorance on an ethical injunction prohibiting us from knowing theoretical metaphysical truth. In this interpretation Kant's primacy of the practical reason reaches its consummation" (p. 23).

In the chapters that follow ("Ethical Dualism," "Ethical Subjectivism," "Ethical Phenomenalism," "Primacy of the Practical"), Kroner applies his key principle to Kant's basic ideas and, without ignoring such radical difficulties as the conflict between moral agnosticism and religious certitude, makes out a strong case for the unity of Kant's intentions (whatever we may think of his achievement). Adequate criticism of such a close-knit argument would be impossible without a detailed commentary on the text, combined with an independent analysis of the Kantian corpus. In this review, there is only room for two or three questions.

(1) One may reasonably ask whether Kant's leading ideas were as well integrated in his mind as they have come to be in Kroner's. The latter has unquestionably shown that moral and religious issues have a greater importance for Kant than his positivistic interpreters have generally allowed. But here, as in the case of William Ockham, which presents many striking parallels, there is some danger of underestimating the independent impact of philosophical criticism on the thinker's mind, and so of turning epistemology into the handmaid of ethics or religion in a way which neither philosopher would have found acceptable.

(2) One may wonder whether the usefulness of Kroner's book would not have been increased if he had tried harder to detach himself from Kant's assumptions respecting the rationalistic and deterministic character of theo-

retical metaphysics. It will not be self-evident to every reader that the ontological and the ethical are incompatible, and some explanation of why Kant took it for granted that they cannot cohere in a systematic philosophy would clarify Kroner's interpretation, as the summary statement of Kant's world-view in the "Introduction" fails to do, even if some readers (including the reviewer) remained unconvinced.

(3) One may express a certain surprise at Kroner's defence of the description of Kant as the "philosopher of Protestantism" (pp. 35f.), in view of the latter's fundamental moralism, with which the classical Protestant emphasis on *sola gratia* stands in such sharp contrast. And in this connection one may ask whether conscience does not play a more important role in the Thomistic ethic than Kroner seems to allow.

Nevertheless, these qualifications apart, it is a pleasure to be able to pay tribute to a former teacher's stimulating and illuminating study, which at the very least will provide a valuable corrective to current and onesided interpretations of Kant's thought. The translator has not only provided a clear and readable version of the German original (first published in 1914), but has also been able to incorporate important revisions undertaken for the occasion by the author himself. The result is a lucid and up-to-date presentation of the ideas of one of the most brilliant living interpreters of German philosophy.

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The Early Church. By OSCAR CULLMANN. London: S.C.M., 1956. Pp. 217. $5.00.

The Early Church is a somewhat misleading title for ten essays, originally published in German and French, and now collected and translated by A. J. B. Higgins. But it must have been a difficult task to find a title to cover the wide diversity of subjects, which include, "The Necessity and Function of Higher Criticism," "The Origin of Christmas," "The Plurality of the Gospels as a Theological Problem in Antiquity," "Samaria and the Origins of the Christian Mission" and "Early Christianity and Civilization."

All the essays bear the marks of Cullmann's careful scholarship, but for most readers the main interest of the book will lie in the four central essays, one on tradition and three on New Testament eschatology.

The essay on tradition is Cullmann's reply to Roman Catholic criticisms of his book on Peter, and in particular to the criticism of Père Daniélou. Cullmann pays tribute to the moderation and objectivity of the Roman Catholic reviews and seeks in the same conciliatory spirit to rebut them. The gist of the Roman Catholic position is that tradition existed prior to Scripture and must not be subordinated to Scripture, that "Scripture, a

collection of books, is not sufficient to actualize for us the divine revelation granted to the apostles," and that consequently Scripture must be interpreted and supplemented by reference to an independent oral tradition of which the church is the infallible guardian. Cullmann's answer is that there is a world of difference between the apostolic tradition which is the sole norm of Christian faith and practice and church tradition which, however inspired and however valuable, is always secondary. In the early church the apostles held a unique and incommunicable function as the companions and eyewitnesses of the ministry of Jesus through whose testimony he provided, as the Risen Lord, for the continuance of his divine revelation. "The function of the bishop, which is transmitted, is essentially different from that of an apostle, which cannot be transmitted. . . . The apostles did not appoint other apostles, but bishops. This means that the apostolate does not belong to the period of the church, but to that of the incarnation." This unique position of the apostles was recognized in the second century when, by the fixing of the canon, the church sought to distinguish once for all between what was apostolic and normative and what was post-apostolic and derivative.

Cullmann is prepared to admit that the Holy Spirit was at work in the formation of post-apostolic traditions, but not that these traditions constitute a revelation independent of Scripture. He admits too that the apostolic tradition requires interpretation, but he points out that those who ascribe to their own interpretation the same authority as they ascribe to Scripture lay themselves open to the condemnation which Jesus pronounced on the Pharisees: "You reject the commandment of God, that you may keep your tradition."

The essay on "The Kingship of Christ and the Church in the New Testament" is an amplification of ideas already expounded in *Christ and Time*. Cullmann reiterates his belief in a "linear" conception of time, which has its beginning in Creation, its end in the Kingdom of God and its centre-point in the Incarnation. His concern here is with the period between the Ascension and the Parousia, which can be called either the period of the church or the period of the *regnum Christi*. The two descriptions overlap but are not synonymous, since the ascended Christ reigns not only over the church but over the world, and particularly over the principalities and powers, which include the powers of the state. The difference between the church and the world is that the church acknowledges Christ's rule while the world is unaware of it. The function of the church, therefore, is to proclaim to the world the rule under which it unwittingly lives.

All this is admirable New Testament theology, but it is open to criticism at two points. It is questionable whether the linear conception of time does justice to the facts which led C. H. Dodd to formulate his theory of realised eschatology. Cullmann is aware of these facts ("Christ's death includes everything that precedes and follows it"). In a subsequent essay on "The Return of Christ" he declares that "we are living in the last age of time.

This last age is a fragment of the future, the only part of the coming age which exists in the present age." And the title of the essay which follows is "The Proleptic Deliverance of the Body according to the New Testament." In view of all this can we be satisfied with a picture of time as a straight line, with the Kingdom of God as a purely future event at the end of the line?

In an attempt to avoid anything that savours of natural law Cullmann attributes the authority of the angelic powers of the state to the fact that by the Cross they have been brought within the sphere of the *regnum Christi*. This is a very curious position to adopt in view of Paul's explicit statement that the powers have been created in Christ and owe their authority to their divine institution; and it prevents Cullmann from pursuing his argument to its logical conclusion—so convincingly expounded by A. N. Wilder in his contribution to the C. H. Dodd Festschrift—that the subjection of the powers to the regnant Christ forms the Scriptural basis for a Christian social order.

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The Light and the Flame. Edited by R. C. Chalmers and John A. Irving. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1956. Pp. xii, 143. $3.50.

This book is a volume of essays, written and edited by a group of Canadian scholars. Its general character is indicated by the sub-title—"Modern Knowledge and Religion." The book is clearly intended to be a contribution to the wide-ranging discussion now engaging the thought of all whose minds can rise above pre-occupation with the trivial and the immediate, which is concerned with what is known as "the problem of human existence." Avowedly, the bond of union in the series is the relation of this problem to the Christian faith, although it should be noted that this feature is more explicit in some of the essays than others. The first two contributors deal with the status of man in the light of contemporary scientific knowledge, and, significantly, to the credit of the writers, end there. They conclude with marks of interrogation rather than dogmatic conclusions. This is an indication of the changed climate in scientific thought. The first essay contributed by Dr. Helen Sawyer Hogg of the University of Toronto is a clearly stated account of modern cosmology. It has the great merit of lucid exposition, pointing out, with enough detail to relieve it from the accusation of mere generalisation and yet with sufficient freedom from abstruse technicality to make it intelligible to the lay mind, the vast change that has now taken place in our knowledge of "the universe around us." No longer do the old mechanistic formulae of Newtonian physics provide an adequate frame of reference. The universe is in process of rapid expansion: new creation is still going on: we are overwhelmed by the immensity of its outreach. In

some respects, the stature of man is dwarfed to infinitesimal proportions and yet, the writer might have pointed out, although the origin of the universe is obscured by "a veil thrown across further knowledge from observational science," the vast scheme of being in which we take our place is not an impenetrable mystery but yields to the investigation of the inquiring mind. We may know only in part, but at least we know; and to that extent we may infer the presence of intelligibility within the order of things. In the second essay, Dr. A. G. Huntsman, the distinguished Toronto biologist, joins the discussion where Dr. Hogg ends. The interest of this contribution is the much-needed establishment of relationship between the newer energetic physics and biological science. There is one driving energy in the atom, in the human body and in the will of man. The writer seems to be a devotee of "holism" and concludes by maintaining that man "although appearing to be separate in body, mind and spirit shares in a tremendous living whole." Principal W. S. Taylor of Vancouver makes one of the most useful and constructive contributions to the series in the third essay when he discusses "Modern Psychology and Religion." He points out how, after a period of confusion and even contradiction, we are now ready for a new affinity between the insights of psychological science and Christian theology. Professor Murray G. Ross of Toronto writes from the point of view of sociology, dealing with the problem of modern man in his uprooted condition seeking for community. It is an unresolved problem, although he indicates some of the efforts now being made to solve it. Professor John A. Irving of Toronto, who is one of the editors, gives an able exposition of the prevalent philosophical interest in logical analysis. He raises the whole question of how we can express the ultimate meaning of reality, accepting the conclusions of the linguistic analysts that there are definite limits to verifiable statement. He appears to conclude that we must have resort to what is called *syntactical* mysticism and ask not so much, "What can we say?" as "How does reality *show* itself?" This points to a logic of revelation rather than of demonstration. Professor John W. Grant of Vancouver deals with *Christianity and Contemporary Social Thought* and in his essay also we are aware of a changed climate of thought. There are very definite limitations to what was formerly conceived to be a major Christian task, viz. the statement of what may be described as a Christian social order. At the same time, the writer is quite clear that the Gospel must have a sustained relevance to economic, social and political life although it can never be exhausted by such an expression. The whole series points forward to the concluding item by Professor R. C. Chalmers of Saskatoon, who endeavours to state the implications of modern knowledge for theology. Clearly, a statement of the Christian faith for to-day must be in the nature of an "answering theology." He makes six points, clearly if rather briefly stated. His emphasis is on a positive theology with an apologetic interest.

It is gratifying to realise that a volume such as this can be compiled by a group of Canadian writers and issued by a Canadian publisher. Its pro-

ducers are to be complimented on its appearance. While the individual essays are all of merit, some having more than others, a more clearly defined unity of thought or at least of inquiry would be desirable. The main fault is its brevity—a volume twice the size would have been more appropriate. The writer of the concluding essay is particularly hampered by limitations of space. One would have liked to see Professor Chalmers engaging on a much larger scale in a resolute encounter with the questions raised by the other writers.

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BOOKS RECEIVED

(Inclusion of titles in this list neither ensures nor precludes subsequent review in this journal.)

Barth, K. *Christ and Adam; Man and Humanity in Romans 5* (*Scottish Journal of Theology Occasional Papers* No. 5). Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1956. Pp. 45. 6*s*.

Fairweather, E. R. (translator and editor). *A Scholastic Miscellany: Anselm to Ockham* (*The Library of Christian Classics* No. X). Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1956. Pp. 457. $6.00.

Grant, J. W. *World Church: Achievement or Hope?* Toronto: The United Church Publishing House, 1956. Pp. viii, 51. $1.25.

Hobbs, E. C. (editor). *A Stubborn Faith; Papers on Old Testament and Related Subjects Presented to Honor* William Andrew Irwin. Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1956. Pp. xii, 170. $4.00.

Hooke, S. H. *The Siege Perilous; Essays in Biblical Anthropology and Kindred Subjects*. London: SCM Press, 1956. Pp. 264. $4.00.

Ivison, S., and Rosser, F. *The Baptists in Upper and Lower Canada before 1820*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1956. Pp. ix, 193. $5.00.

Jurji, E. J. *The Middle East: Its Religion and Culture*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1956. Pp. 159. $3.00.

Leckie, N. M. *Any Well That Springs*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1956. Pp. vi, 89. $2.50.

LeFevre, P. D. *The Prayers of Kierkegaard*. Chicago: The University Press (University of Toronto Press), 1956. Pp. ix, 245. $3.50.

Needham, J. *Science and Civilization in China*: Vol. II—*History of Scientific Thought*. Cambridge: University Press, 1956. Pp. xxiv, 697. $13.50.

Owen, D. R. G. *Body and Soul; A Study on the Christian View of Man.* Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1956. Pp. 239. $3.75.

Smallman, B. *The Background of Passion Music.* London: SCM Press, 1957. Pp. 125. $1.75.

Stacey, W. D. *The Pauline View of Man in Relation to its Judaic and Hellenistic Background.* London: Macmillan & Co., 1956. Pp. xv, 253. $5.00.

Taylor, V. *The Cross of Christ; Eight Public Lectures.* London: Macmillan & Co., 1956. Pp. vii, 108. $2.00.

Thornton, M. *Pastoral Theology: A Reorientation.* London: SPCK, 1956. Pp. x, 278. $5.00.

Walsh, H. H. *The Christian Church in Canada.* Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1956. Pp. ix, 355. $6.50.

Wilburn, R. G. *The Prophetic Voice in Protestant Christianity.* St. Louis: The Bethany Press, 1956. Pp. 298. $3.00.

Wilkinson, A. *Lions in the Way: A Discursive History of the Oslers.* Toronto: The Macmillan Co. of Toronto Ltd., 1956. Pp. xii, 274. $5.00.

Editorials

FOCUS ON OBERLIN

OURS is an age of transition, not least in the area of that "common study" characteristic of our "post-Lund" era. So far as the work of the Faith and Order part of the ecumenical movement is concerned, the age of world conferences appears to have passed, and with it that abstract and generalized thinking which usually attended them.

For the above reason, the regional conference to be held at Oberlin, Ohio, in September is a significant experiment. The focus will be on the common experience of the delegates—on the North American scene, as it were. It has been defined as a conference to "engage in concentrated study of the forces in North America which bind the Churches together and which drive them apart." Now these forces will be, in the nature of the case, *accidental* elements of unity and disunity. And the promise that lies in the strategy of Oberlin consists in this very fact, that the conference is being planned in terms of these "non-theological" factors of which we hear so much today.

Oberlin will explore a theme which is really the basic question of the whole ecumenical movement: What is the nature of the unity we seek? Its exploration is mapped out in three broad Divisions: the nature of the unity we seek in faithfulness to the eternal gospel, in terms of organizational structure, and in view of cultural pressures. Within each Division are four Sections, the basic study groups of the conference, with about thirty delegates in each.

Sixteen study groups have been preparing for Oberlin during the past two years, including three Canadian—Toronto, Saskatoon and Vancouver. There have been an estimated two hundred and twenty-five "conversational groups" as well, studying related aspects in terms of local problems, but all oriented in this direction.

The Canadian Council of Churches is one of the sponsors of the conference, and the delegates and consultants from its member Churches are expected to make a vital contribution. This expectation rests partly upon the high percentage of delegates drawn from the actual study groups, as compared with the American representation, and partly upon the fact that the Toronto study group (the original Faith and Order Commission of the Council) is responsible for one of the Sections at Oberlin, on "The Variations in Denominational Polities." This Section is in one sense the key to the problem which Oberlin poses, for it deals with the distinction between "order" and "organization"—of that essential ordering of the life and work of the Church, as distinct from those elements which can be classed as "indifferent."

From this basic distinction, it is hoped that certain criteria may be developed, to assist in the evaluation of the sociological and other influences

which affect the faith and practice of the Church. No doubt the study at Oberlin will remind us all that the definition of "non-theological factors" is itself a theological one! That is, what we are dealing with is actually the humanity of the Church, its involvement in the life and times of its generation. The problem of the Church is a reflection of the "problem" of its King and Head, Jesus Christ. The primary question for the Christian concerns the Kingdom of Christ—how He reigns in this present age, and what are the signs which we are called to erect, that men may enter His Kingdom and prepare for its unveiling.

Ever since Lund, we have understood that Christology is more than doctrine, it is the key to our problem of reunion. But perhaps we have still to learn just how far this key will carry us as it opens one door after another. Oberlin, for instance, will endeavour to show that "things which we do not like in other communions are not first of all problems to be solved. They are rather varying solutions of problems which no church can evade." Christ acts, man reacts—our common study must aim at revealing just how far the great variety in our reaction is the result of factors in our personal and group life rather than in the life of Christ Himself and of the Apostolic group He created.

Perhaps our North American focus on Oberlin will also prove the truth of this cautionary word issued to the study groups as they plan their debates and prepare their reports: "The Church lives as one, not by specifying points of agreement however helpful this may be, but by embodying its oneness amid the tensions created by diversities and even by schisms."

J.C.M.

PREACHING AND RHETORIC

In our modern vocabulary *rhetoric* has become almost a naughty word. It is associated in our minds with sinister attempts to support weak causes with strong arguments. Since the days of Plato rhetoric has been under suspicion as an instrument which can be used to make the worse appear the better reason. Many would be inclined to agree with Jeremy Bentham's definition of rhetoric as "the art of misdirecting the judgment by agitating and inflaming the passions." To a generation which remembers the speeches of Adolf Hitler the argument of Quintilian that only a good man can be an orator is not particularly convincing.

An attitude of disdain towards the art of rhetoric is particularly prevalent in the church. St. Paul's words concerning his coming to Corinth "not with excellency of speech or of wisdom" (I Cor. 2:1) have been misused to imply that the content of preaching is all that matters. Preaching which rejects "enticing words of man's wisdom" is not necessarily preaching which will be "in demonstration of the spirit and of power." In our theological curricula little emphasis has been placed on instruction in public speaking.

Our students spend years of study upon the content of preaching and give comparatively little attention to its form. We accumulate knowledge, and make little provision for its transmission or communication. We learn *what* to say, and neglect *how* to say it.

For this neglect we pay a high price. The secondary meaning given for the word *sermon* in the *Oxford Dictionary* is: "a long, or tedious discourse, or harangue." The verb *to preach* is defined as meaning "to proclaim by public discourse . . . to give moral or religious advice in an obtrusive or tiresome way." One of the perils of the preacher's calling is that what is supposed to be the proclamation of truth by public discourse can degenerate into the giving of advice in obtrusive and tiresome ways, in tedious discourses and harangues.

The success of even a jest, as every comedian knows, depends not only on what is said, but on how it is said. The dependence of effect upon form as well as content holds true of all human discourse. To express ourselves we can concentrate attention upon the content and neglect the form. If we want to communicate thought or emotion to other persons, if we want to transmit to others the convictions we hold, the form of the communication is almost as important as the content. When Keats described how he felt on first looking into Chapman's Homer, he succeeded in expressing what he felt, and he also succeeded in communicating something of the thrill of a great discovery. The charm of poetry lies in its ability to communicate, as well as to express, the heart-aches, the homesickness, the sorrows and the ecstacies of our existence. The expression in words, the form, is an essential part of the communication.

The motivation behind the sermon is persuasion rather than self-expression. The sermon will express what we believe and feel and hope, but it is a form of communication in which we seek to persuade others to embrace what we believe, and to share the passion which moves us. The people who spoke in tongues at Corinth had found a satisfactory form of self-expression, but it was not a form which edified the church.

Preaching which is to edify the church cannot afford to neglect the art of speaking well. As Hugh Blair pointed out, the subjects of pulpit discourse are noble and important, but they are also trite and familiar.

> They have for ages employed so many speakers and so many pens; the public ear is so much accustomed to them, that it requires more than an ordinary power of genius to fix attention. Nothing within the reach of art is more difficult than to bestow on what is common the grace of novelty. No sort of composition whatever is such a trial of skill as where the merit of it lies wholly in the execution; not in giving any information that is new, not in convincing men of what they did not believe; but in dressing truths which they knew, and of which they were before convinced, in such colours as may most forcibly affect their imagination and heart.

The many tongues and pens employed on the themes of pulpit discourse since Hugh Blair wrote have added strength to his argument.

A hundred years ago most of the public speaking which people heard was heard in church. There were occasional visits to the theatre and political meetings, but ordinarily the best public speaking they heard was what they heard from the pulpit. This is no longer so. Through radio and television people have become accustomed to hearing the trained voices of actors and speakers who have taken considerable pains to learn the art of speaking well. The average actor has spent much more effort in training his voice than the average minister, and the difference is only too apparent.

Rhetoric and preaching, form and content, matter and delivery, are things which are inseparably joined together, and which no man can put asunder. The sermon preached in a setting of the liturgy of the church, addressed to a group of worshipping people is a distinctive form of communication. But it is a form of communication through the spoken word, through public discourse, and if it is to be done effectively all that we can learn of the art of rhetoric will be an asset to us.

A good man is all the better for fulfilling the ancient ideal of the rhetoricians, a good man skilled in preaching.

N.G.S.

The Problem of Old Testament Theology and the History of Religion

JAMES BARR

NUMEROUS books and articles in recent years have indicated a growing interest in Old Testament theology as an essential part of the discipline of Old Testament studies. Nevertheless there remains in the scholarly world a considerable body of opinion which is suspicious of this interest and even opposed to it, and which continues to place the primary emphasis on the philological, literary and historical tasks. According to this approach the religious content of the Old Testament is material not for a theology of the Old Testament so much as for a critical account of Israelite religious history. The task of Old Testament scholarship would then be to provide the factual data; on these data a theology might be constructed by those concerned with it; but the task of construction itself would lie beyond the realm of Old Testament studies proper.

Of those works which have appeared under the title of "Theology of the Old Testament" and which have approved themselves to Old Testament scholars as responsible work, the criticism might be made that they are in fact, and perhaps in spite of their title, systematic exegesis.[1] Instead of the familiar consecutive exegesis chapter by chapter as presented in commentaries, the "Theologies" present a systematic exegesis, collecting the material under various themes, displaying under each theme the disparities and similarities of opinion in various passages, seeking to assess them as a whole, and relating the themes one to another. This criticism would seem to have a considerable amount of foundation. It is not in itself a criticism against the books involved, but rather a clarification of what they are really doing, and therefore of what is in this case involved in the title "Theology." If this is true, the "Theologies" do not form a radical break with the historical-critical discipline; they represent rather a different principle of organization. Within the synthetic organization of the "Theologies" there remains ample room for recognition of and attention to the separateness of sources and periods as discussed by historical-critical study, including the critical history of religion. The synthetic work accepts without any reservation the priority to itself of philological, literary and historical research. The synthetic principle of organization will be derived from the nature of the subject-matter, i.e. the totality of Israelite religious thought.

1. In a paper read to the Society for Old Testament Studies at Cardiff in July 1956, Prof. W. A. Irwin made the parallel criticism that the "Theologies" in spite of their name were in fact forms of history of religion. The writer does not know if this paper has been published.

The necessity of some such synthetic study can hardly be denied. Synthetic thinking about the Old Testament will in fact continue, whether we grant it a place or not, if only because no one reads a body of literature without forming some general impression of it. Unless, however, deliberate and careful study is made by informed scholars, there will be no interchange of responsible and fruitful criticism, and the impressions formed will be uncorrected and uncritical.

The questions must now however be stated: 1. Is it true that such "Theologies of the Old Testament" as have appeared have been works of systematic exegesis as described above? 2. Can and should Old Testament Theology go in any way beyond such systematic exegesis? In other words, has Old Testament theology been in fact, and should it be, a descriptive science, or should it be something more? Does it seek only to describe the intention of the texts, taken as a whole, as systematic exegesis would do?

It is clear that "theology" in the normal sense of the word, as used of "Christian theology" for example, goes beyond this descriptive function. It does not merely describe the opinion of the Bible on the nature of God or of man, but seeks with the Bible as a basis to grapple with the realities to which the opinion of the Bible is a witness. In theology in the normal sense the doctrine of God is more than a description of the Biblical statements about Him; it involves at the least a commitment to the reality of the God known in the Bible. This commitment involves some kind of authority of the Bible; on the other hand it allows theology to go beyond what is explicitly stated in the Bible and to formulate what it holds to be a true doctrine of God as implied or demanded by the biblical indications—a development beyond mere description which would not take place without the initial commitment to the God of the Bible.

There is not space here to discuss in detail the various "Theologies of the Old Testament" which have appeared and to determine whether they have in fact conformd to the type of a descriptive science or to the type of a committed science like Systematic Theology. It is always possible that they have intended the one and accomplished the other. Miller Burrows in the introduction to his biblical theology writes:[2] "History asks what the religion of the ancient Hebrews and early Christians was; biblical theology asks what was God's judgment on that religion, and what significance it has for us." This would appear to put biblical theology in the class of a committed science. But the main content of his book seems nevertheless to conform to the scheme of a descriptive science. What it tells us in fact is what the Bible in general thinks, and not what God thinks of it. It is not perhaps difficult for the reader to discern the committed theology, the views that Burrows himself holds of God and of God's judgment of Biblical religion; but the explicit discussion is a descriptive one. His work is of course a theology of the whole Bible, not of the Old Testament alone, but the principle would not seem to be different.

2. Millar Burrows, *An Outline of Biblical Theology*, (1946), p. 4.

Eichrodt seems in his first sentence to state a descriptive task: "The task is to gain a comprehensive picture of the world of faith of the Old Testament."[3] That Eichrodt is also interested in the Old Testament's "essential connections" (Wesenszusammenhang) with the New Testament[4] does not invalidate this, for those connections with the New Testament are there set in parallel with "the consideration of the religious environment" of the Old Testament. The subject is still the depiction of the Old Testament's world of faith, but special attention is to be given to its relation to the religious environment on the one hand and the New Testament on the other. For Eichrodt plainly the central problem is to find a synthetic presentation as well as the dominant analytic presentation of Israelite religion; the study remains a descriptive one. The suggestion of Eissfeldt[5] that Old Testament theology involves a special kind of knowledge peculiar to those who have faith and therefore a special method, was rejected by Eichrodt[6] and has not widely approved itself. Even those volumes which adopt a committed Christian starting-point, like those of Vriezen[7] or Procksch,[8] seem to work in fact by a descriptive method in their presentation of the material.

It is probable that where opposition to the idea of an Old Testament theology continues to exist, it is because of a suspicion that the theologies, whatever their protestations, do in fact go beyond the limits of systematic exegesis. In some cases also perhaps there is the feeling that even systematic exegesis must by its own nature be inexact and that however hard it tries to preserve the historical contexts it cannot fail to uproot the texts to some extent from their original setting. In general the word "theology" is in itself the main stumbling-block, for it suggests to many the committed and normative discipline of dogmatics. In this respect the discussion of Old Testament theology seems to suffer from remnants of the nineteenth-century controversy between "science" and "dogma." In the terms of that controversy all that is not empirically demonstrable is either mere subjective opinion or externally imposed dogma. It should be observed however that Old Testament science is in its nature, as a study of a literature, more akin to the humanistic studies than to the purely "scientific." No one expects an education in the Latin classics to be confined to pure linguistics, to detailed historical research, or to a genetic study of the Roman religion; nor is a teacher of Greek philosophy regarded as "unscientific" if he goes beyond the presentation of the historical influences acting upon Plato to consider the living values of Plato's thought or its abiding truth. A literary education

3. Eichrodt, *Theologie des alten Testaments*, 1939, vol. 1, p. 1.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
5. Eissfeldt, *Israelitisch-juedische Religionsgeschichte und alttestamentliche Theologie*, (Zeitschrift fuer die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft) (ZATW) 1926, pp. 1–12.
6. Eichrodt, *Hat die alttestamentliche Theologie noch selbstaendige Bedeutung innerhalb der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft.* ZATW, 1929, pp. 83–90.
7. *Vriezen, Hoofdlijnen der Theologie van het Oude Testament*, 1949; for the problem of method see especially pp. 76–8.
8. Procksch, *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, 1950.

is an aesthetic and philosophic education. The sense of the Old Testament is however overwhelmingly religious and so the advance beyond the exact historical brings to the mind the threat of the normative dogmatic, as the aesthetic and the philosophical do not do; and the defence against this threat leads to the assimilation of Old Testament study to the "exact" sciences, and in particular to historical research. Yet even in historical research it is now clear that, as soon as a wider scope than minute detail is taken, exactitude in the sense of positive proof is no longer possible, so that historical study itself stands with the humanistic studies. But in such studies the absence of exact proof does not give a free rein to subjectivity. Progress is made in this realm not by exact proof but by continual criticism. A retreat from the task of Old Testament theology would mean a refusal to engage in such fruitful criticism because exact proof is not available.

So far we have made as if to accept the suggestion that Old Testament theology is in fact a descriptive science. Those who are suspicious of it may however be right in feeling that even where the terms are laid down as for a descriptive science there is a motive behind the movement towards Old Testament theology which in itself carries it beyond the limits of a descriptive science. In fact it must be clear that the demand for an Old Testament theology is at least in part a search for meaning. This search was stimulated by the dominance of the approach through history of religion. Especially where history of religion had an evolutionary bias, nothing had meaning except as a stage in the long process of development. Each fact was merely a product of the influences acting historically upon it, and it had no relation to any other fact except through their historical connection along the line of this process. The theology of the Old Testament was a movement to regain a realm of meaning where facts had significance as part of a recognizable whole. Even a descriptive organization of the material does not obscure this difference of purpose from that underlying purely historical investigation.

The search for meaning has not however been confined to the movement towards Old Testament theology. That form of history of Israelite religion which was characterized by a strong evolutionistic approach also believed itself to discern elements of meaning. Its evolutionism was not merely imported because it was a prevalent presupposition, but also because the evolution of the higher from the lower seemed in itself to be an adequate and indeed a fascinating sphere of meaning. To admire "ethical monotheism" and to contemplate the evolution which led to it was to discern meaning at its richest. The decline of evolutionism may be ascribed to a double cause; firstly a sense that "meaning" as evolutionism saw it is in fact no meaning; and secondly a realization that the evolutionist construction did not correspond to historical fact.

In so far as the movement towards Old Testament theology involves explicitly or implicitly a search for meaning, meaning to be found through synthetic comprehension, it may be held that it goes beyond a descriptive

science and must do so. It should be observed however that with the decline of evolutionism the situation in the history of religion itself has altered. Evolutionist historicism is giving way to a kind of phenomenology in which it is recognized that a religion is at any given time a totality which is more than the sum of the historical and environmental influences acting upon it. This totality is constantly changing and historical study investigates these changes as before; but historical treatment requires a respect for the existence of the totality as a living consciousness rather than its fragmentation into facts which are merely a stage on the way to something else. In this respect the study of religion seems to lie closer today to the synthetic interest of Old Testament theology than it did in the past. This fact has undoubtedly been an encouragement to the interest in Old Testament theology; but it raises in a new form the question of the distinctiveness of that theology from the study of religion. There is a danger that the nature of Old Testament theology should be understood in terms of its contrast with a form of history of religion which has in fact become obsolete, and thus lose living contact with progress in the latter study.

It is a commonplace that the Old Testament lays a unique stress upon history and upon the acts done by God in history. This fact is not, as seems sometimes to be supposed, a divine charter giving sole rights to the nineteenth-century conception of history. It is the source of a whole realm of problematic within the study of Old Testament religion, which would not appear if the essential content of that religion were a system of timelessly valid teachings or a spiritual otherworldly mythology. The problem can be condensed into the contrast between the two statements:

1. Israel believed God had acted in history.
2. God has in fact acted in history.

The truth of the first of these is universally acknowledged by any approach to Israelite religion. Is it possible to go farther and grapple with the problem of the second statement? To do so would clearly be to go beyond a descriptive function.

It would seem that the recognition of the distinction here involved, or at any rate treatment of it beyond the mere recognition of its existence, lies beyond the sphere of the history of religion. That study is able to do a great deal by calling attention to the fact that Israel's religion was a faith in God's actions in history and by contrasting this with other forms of religion. Perhaps this is all that can be done. The question will none the less remain whether that faith is in general a mass of illusion. To point at the "spiritual values" of a faith centred in acts done in history, while obscuring the question of the reality of any such acts, is at this point to pull wool over our eyes.

It is hardly possible to discern by purely historical investigation whether God acted in history or not. Jeremiah maintained that God had given Jerusalem into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar. We can trace the historical

movement which led to the fall of Jerusalem without finding evidence of divine action. Even if we proved the substantial accuracy of narratives like that of the Exodus or the fall of Jericho we would still lack clear historical proof of God's action. Indeed in its extremer aspects nineteenth-century historical method made it *a priori* impossible that divine action in history, in the sense in which the Old Testament writers conceived it, could have occurred at all, so that the question was settled before the investigation began; and from evolutionistic schools a certain vague impression was left that the true divine action in history was the benign smile with which the Deity observed the evolutionary process.

It would not seem then that any direct answer to our second question, whether God indeed acted, is possible. But it may be that Old Testament theology should be a science which would be continually open to the problems and possibilities which lie here. To questions of truth it would have no preconceived or committed answers; indeed it would not aim at the production of answers at all. Its organization would however be such as to present the material in a form which would assist those who would ask and wrestle with the problems of truth as a part of their exegetical task. It would have no dogmatic principle other than the recognition of the possibility of truth.

In this it would not work by a special "theological" type of knowledge or method, as Eissfeldt suggested. Its method would remain the systematic or synthetic exegesis of the texts for what they claim to be, taking seriously but not accepting dogmatically their claim to know of divine acts or divine revelation. It would not be an assimilation to dogmatics, for there would be no attempt to produce doctrinal norms or formulations, nor would it be committed to any view of biblical authority. It would remain an exegetical science which would not allow dogmatic doctrine to force it to a result or any *a priori* conception of historical method to deny the possibility of a result.

Although most of the volumes of Old Testament theology already written have been the work of Christians, the science as outlined above is not in any sense a special preserve of committed Christian scholars. Christians recognize it as an essential part of the biblical discipline within Christianity. But other scholars, and Jewish scholars in particular, have the same right to pursue it. This does not exclude the possibility that from the dogmatic standpoint there may be such a thing as a Christian or a Jewish view of the Old Testament; but this is a different thing from the exegetical science, although it may have fruitful relations with it.

It is worth remarking perhaps that there is a task here for the believing Jew or Christian which is not satisfied by dogmatic theology as such. Dogmatics does not seek a doctrinal formulation for the content of all the particularities of the Bible. It has a doctrine of God but not a doctrine of what happened in 587 B.C. or of the meaning of the laws of ritual purity. In the important article already quoted[9] Eichrodt used the distinction of relative

9. In *ZATW*, 1929, p. 85.

and absolute to separate between the empirical-historical sciences (including Old Testament theology) and the sciences of value, philosophy or dogmatics. Historical study can see events and quantities only in relation to others, i.e. relatively. But "The judgement over true and false, over the claim to absolute validity and invalidity, remains fundamentally reserved for the science of values, philosophy or dogmatics." Eichrodt's main point, that Old Testament theology is not a part of dogmatics, seems correct to the writer. But to wrestle with the question of true and false in relation to individual texts and events of the Bible is not to seek a decision in terms of absolutes. As dealing with particularities it remains relative. It is only a fundamentalist dogmatic which ascribes absoluteness to the particularities of the Bible. The terms "absolute" and "relative" do not in fact do full justice to the problem, for a revelation in history cannot be subsumed under them.

It has commonly been held that the task of Old Testament theology involves a selectivity towards the subject-matter. Eichrodt[10] speaks of a "separation between essentials and non-essentials" which will make visible the total structure of the Old Testament's world of thought. Professor Rowley writes,[11] "Here, then, is a clear distinction between a history of Israelite religion and an Old Testament theology. For the former every religious idea and practice which marked any period of the story demands full consideration. For the latter all that is not of the essence of the faith of Israel is irrelevant." Dentan[12] prescribes a limitation to "*normative* Old Testament religion." For him, "The Old Testament theologian will make use of merely popular religion and superstitions only in so far as they seem to him in some way to illuminate the basic inner core of Israel's faith." What is normative is to be determined by the standards firstly of persistence or pervasiveness, secondly of distinctiveness.

In some ways it is this principle of selectivity which to the opponents of Old Testament theology seems most unscientific and subjective, and their criticism at this point is not without foundation. A basic distinction should be made between the limits of any one treatment of a subject and the limits of the subject itself. Any treatment of any subject by a writer involves a certain selectivity in choosing what seems to him essential, and the subjectivity of such a selectivity is, as Eichrodt has remarked, fruitful and creative, and in any case inescapable.[13] It is quite another thing to maintain that there are limitations to the total scope of a subject, so that only part of the total data are relevant to it. Presuppositions will no doubt always exist; but when they are allowed to control the data by a scheme of limitation they destroy the scientific character of the work.

One or two illustrations may indicate the damage that can be done by the

10. *Theologie*, p. 2.
11. Rowley, *the Faith of Israel*, 1956, p. 17.
12. Dentan, *Preface to Old Testament Theology*, 1950, p. 57. See the whole discussion on this page.
13. *ZATW*, 1929, pp. 86–8.

principle of selectivity. Dentan's programme for Old Testament theology[14] requires that only "Ideas," and not "History or Institutions" should be dealt with. To the present writer this seems certain to lead to distortion. Coupled with the exclusion of "Mere Archaeological Information" (for example no less a matter than "the details of the sacrificial cultus!") this would mean a great distillation or extraction process for the production of the ideas. The same writer, as quoted above, wants to ignore "merely popular religion." How this can work out can be seen in Koehler's study,[15] where he maintains that the theological study of the Spirit of God must begin with Isaiah. The Old Testament contains references to the Spirit which are earlier than Isaiah. But these are "volkstuemlich und theologisch nicht greifbar." That is, one supposes, the kind of understanding of the Spirit in the Samson stories or in early prophetism has no theological value or content. Nor can a criterion be found by considering only concepts which are taken up in the New Testament; their absence in the New Testament might be as significant as their presence. Nor can we use distinctiveness alone as a criterion, excluding elements held in common with other religions; there are too many such elements in the Old Testament which are essential to its structure, e.g. those elements in the law of Israel which have close similarities with the law of other peoples. All such limitations of the material are without justification.

Professor Rowley[16] is clearly aware of the danger here, and holds that a valid principle of selectivity can be found within the Old Testament itself. Certain practices and ideas exist in Israel but the Old Testament shows how they were progressively transformed, limited or abandoned, for example, blood revenge, polygamy, levirate marriage, and the massacre of conquered foes. Thus "the theology of the Old Testament must be based on those elements of Israel's distinctive faith which, incipient at first, were developed in her history, and on those ideas and practices which, even though of older or alien origin, were accepted permanently into her faith and made its vehicle." If in fact a principle of selectivity must be found, no doubt this is the best one. But the writer believes the whole idea of selectivity of data should be abandoned. Even on the instances quoted above, it seems that considerable theological importance remains to the levirate marriage even in late sources. The practice of the *herem* and of the holy war in general has, as von Rad has shown, enormous influence on the later religion, and is expressly treated in Deuteronomy; while ethically it presents serious problems which should not be avoided by Old Testament theology.

The principle of selectivity is an overstressing or a misunderstanding of the synthetic method of Old Testament theology. Old Testament theology has been too much attracted by the hope of finding a consensus rather like the phrase of Vincent of Lerins, *quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus*. The task of Old Testament theology is not primarily the writing of

14. Dentan, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
15. Koehler, *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, 3rd ed., 1953, p. 104.
16. Rowley, *op. cit.*, pp. 17–19.

books which will hope to come as near as possible to expressing this consensus. It is primarily an exegetical science and its reference is no narrower than the totality of the texts to be interpreted. In so far as each passage claims to speak of or from God, it sets a theological task. The synthetic method is required because this theological task cannot be adequately carried out on the basis of the individual text separated from all others of different date or origin. But the synthetic method is intended to bring us back to the particular text and draw out its own implications. The writing of complete "theologies" is a guide or tool for this task of exegesis, and not an end in itself.

In the writing of Old Testament theologies there has been much uncertainty over the principle of organization of the material. Attempts have been made to use the traditional organization into theology, anthropology and soteriology; others have worked with a central organizing concept like the covenant or the Lordship of Yahweh. If the account given above of the nature of Old Testament theology is correct, then it is not necessary that any final and perfect scheme of organization should be sought or found. The material itself must be the final judge whether any organization is adequate or not.

The Allegory of the Vine: An Exposition of John 15: 1-17

GEORGE JOHNSTON

WITH the allegory of the True Vine in chapter fifteen of the Fourth Gospel we are in what many feel to be the Holy of Holies in the biblical record of our Lord's words and work. Dying men have turned to these farewell discourses to find comfort and assurance, because here they have encountered One who was about to die—and to conquer! Not less the living seek here blessed words of hope and strength: "Let not your hearts be troubled!" Over and over again the risen Christ has mediated transforming spiritual power to his disciples, even those who have not seen him and yet have believed. (John writes in the knowledge that the Resurrection Appearances are past.) Christ meets human need through his words, which are available within the written records of the New Testament and are interpreted to the faithful by the divine Paraclete, the Spirit of Truth (cf. John 14:16f., 25–27; 15:26f.). Since his words are "spirit and truth" (John 6:63), they communicate himself, the Son of the Father and the Saviour of the world. Hence the expositor or the preacher who sits down humbly and expectantly before the living Lord in his Gospel will be given a "word" for his congregation or readers. For the Christ will be present anew within the fellowship of faith and learning. Few of his students will ever forget the intensity of feeling with which the late Dr. Arthur Gossip used to begin his lectures on Preaching. For him the office of the preacher was very sacred, and he would tell his students that one who stands in the pulpit confronts the infinite needs of his fellow men and women. He ought therefore to bring with him from the hidden place of study and prayer a message that conveys the infinite resources of almighty God for the situation of the day. In this chapter of St. John there are lessons that cry out to be preached: lessons on the friendship of Christ, on Christian obedience, on the duty of witnessing, and on the joy of communion with the Father and the Son.

I

The larger context of 15:1–17 is, of course, that of 13:2, "during supper." Here Jesus is engaged in the Last Supper with the men whom God gave him out of the world and whom he has loved to the end. Naturally one asks what relationship the allegory has to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper which stands in direct continuity with that Last Supper on the night in which he was betrayed.

John does not provide a narrative of how the sacrament was instituted,

although at the same juncture in the story of Jesus the Synoptic Gospels do so (cf. Mark 14:17ff.). There must be a reason for the omission, but it has proved extremely difficult to discover it. Perhaps John was protesting in this way against sacramentalism or a corruption of it; perhaps his materials were gathered from a set of eucharistic sermons and he conceived that his message could be better expounded in relation to the "I AM" saying about the Bread of Life in chapter 6; it may even be that on this point there was a quite different tradition in the Johannine circle from that of the Pauline and the Synoptic. Whatever the reason, John is surely one who understands the meaning of "sacramental," for he understands the Incarnation of the divine in the human. "The Word was made flesh" need not mean that the eternal Logos, the Son of God, was transformed into material flesh, yet it must mean that the material is taken up into a unique relation with the spiritual. Hence in chapter 6 Jesus says that the disciple must eat him, then he explains that this is to eat his flesh and blood, and finally he suggests that it is only the Spirit that matters. "My words are spirit and life" (6:56ff.).

In the allegory no use is made of the fact that wine is closely related to the Vine, so that the sacramental idea is far below the surface. John's primary lesson here is rather that obedience to Christ is the essential condition for being in true communion with him. But surely that is not far removed from the meaning of "eating me" or "eating my flesh and drinking my blood" in 6:56ff.? Those who make the Eucharist the whole centre of the Christian life should perhaps ask themselves if obedience to the divine will is not more important than "making one's communion" at the Eucharist or the Mass. "Abide in me, and I in you . . . As the Father has loved me, so have I loved you; abide in my love" (15:4, 9). Put alongside that verse the words of 6:57: "As the living Father sent me, and I live because of the Father," and of 4:34: "My meat is to do the will of him who sent me, and to accomplish his work." The complication that arises in the parallelism between Christ and the disciples is this: we should expect to be told that it is the business of the disciple to do the will of his Lord and accomplish the work given to him (cf. 13:15; 14:12, 15). But although John says so plainly enough in the farewell discourses, in chapter 6 he puts the point in terms of "eating the flesh and drinking the blood of the Son of man." It must be that Jesus Christ stands in a special relation to the Church as Mediator, precisely as we read in Matt. 11:27. The Son has immediate knowledge of the Father; but the Church knows the Father (whom no man has seen or can see) only in the Son (14:9). Thus for the life of the Church and its communion with God it is essential that Christ and his disciples be one Humanity (cf. Heb. 2:11). In the Synoptics this is put in the form, "where two or three are gathered together in my Name, there am I in the midst" (Matt. 18:20). Paul describes this fellowship under the concepts of the Body of Christ (cf. John 2:21), the New Man, the Seed of Abraham. John has the same sort of idea in mind, because he begins by saying here that Jesus is the true Vine, that is, the true "Israel of God." He and his friends

together constitute the People. And so the People must find the secret of vitality and purpose in "feeding upon Christ." The emphasis on the flesh and blood in 6:56ff. is parallel to the clear statement of the Prologue, that the Word "became flesh." John is not so interested in the sacramental elements that represent the flesh and blood, as in the true manhood of the Saviour which is the exemplar of Christian manhood. The obedience of the Son has for its counterpart the obedience of the disciple to the Lord Jesus Christ. "If you keep my commandments, you will abide in my love, just as I have kept my Father's commandments and abide in his love" (15:10; cf. 2:5; 5:8; 7:17; and 11:43). The theme is quite general, but presumably the obedience required may be applied to sacramental worship, to the life of the disciple in the world, and to the inner, private religious life. The only specific commands in view here are the love of one another within the narrow circle of believers, and the obligation to proclaim the Gospel to others. It is characteristic of the Johannine mind that it should hold together the ideas of the Church as a close-knit, exclusive fellowship and of the Church as a missionary society sent out into the world in the Name of One who is the Saviour of the world. Strength for the latter is derived from the former, because only a Church that lives in close union with its Head, the risen Lord, can have the fortitude, the conviction of truth, and the power of patient love essential to the missionary task in this evil world. We are called to obedience if we would enjoy communion; and the more profound the union, the more perfect will be the obedience.

II

We come now to the concept of the Vine as such.

Stewart Perowne in his recent volume, *The Life and Times of Herod the Great*, describes the Temple which Herod began to build and did not complete before his death. Above the door in the entrance to the Holy Place, "a magnificent golden vine spread its tendrils and hung its bunches of grapes, which, to be seen at such a height, were as tall as a man." Jesus and his disciples were familiar with the Vine, for it is one of the symbols for Israel, the covenanted People of God. The commentators refer to Isa. 5:1–7; 27:2–6; Ezek. 19:10–13; Jer. 2:21; and Ps. 80:8–19. What Jesus means to say is, "I am the true Israel." In his own person he embodied the chosen People of God. Modern men in the West may find it hard to understand that one man should represent a whole nation, but the Jews understood. It was not strange to them that Adam meant mankind or that the sacral King incorporated the entire nation or that on the Day of Atonement the High Priest standing before God is virtually Israel. This sense of solidarity helps to explain the Pauline teaching about the Body of Christ and the Seed of Abraham (1 Cor. 12:12; Gal. 3:16). A measure of what is involved comes to those who imaginatively feel themselves taking part in bygone historical events or spiritually indentify themselves with their ancestors. An example of the former will be found in *Our Hearts Were*

Young and Gay by Cornelia Otis Skinner and Emily Kimbrough, who stood one day on the very spot where Joan of Arc was martyred; and an example of the latter in Neil Munro's story, "The Lost Pibroch", in *Scottish Short Stories*, ed. Hendry. In the Fourth Gospel the theme of Jacob who is Israel lies behind the language at 1:51; 5:27; 6:27, 53, 62; as well as 2:21 (the Temple is the House of God, and thus "Bethel"). It may be observed too that the Vine and the "Son of Man" images appear in Ps. 80:8, 15–17, where the poet prays for the restoration of Israel to the favour of God. This may be one source of the "Son of Man" idea in John. Like the first disciples this writer declares that the hopes and images of the Old Testament were "fulfilled" in Jesus, the Messiah, the Son of the Father, although unbelievers thought that Jesus was merely the son of Joseph of Nazareth (John 1:45; 6:42). The real glory of Jesus is that in him the eternal Word of God became incarnate, that he suffered and died as victor over sin and death, and that he has returned to the divine glory. On the other hand, incarnation meant that the Word was made flesh within Israel, the nation of the covenant, the promises, and the sonship (cf. Rom. 9:4f.).

This claim underlines the uniqueness of Jesus Christ and his right to be served as sole Lord and Saviour. For this reason the Church properly asserts that he is greater than Moses, different from David, superior to Aaron, and that he must never be reduced to the level of any Eastern *avatar*. It is not enough therefore to preach "Jesus," if by that is meant simply the Jew who loved children and befriended the outcast and taught an ethic of brotherly love. Such a presentation is to be heard among unitarians in Canada, although some unitarians here go so far as to advertize that they are not even Christian. St. John the evangelist believed in God the Father, Jesus Christ the Son, and in the Paraclete, the divine Spirit of Truth, who proceeds from the Father and is sent by Christ (15:26). The Church catholic has declared over and over again that this trinitarian faith alone can do justice to the saving work of Christ, the revealer of God and the Saviour of the world. It is this Gospel that the preacher is called to offer to Canada and to all the nations.

Next, if the Vine be Israel, it must follow that the true People of God is to be found in the community of Jesus' disciples, the Church. They are branches on the Vine, sustained by its life, and dead apart from it. Christ and his Church belong inseparably together—a lesson taught elsewhere in terms of the Body and the Bride (1 Cor. 12:12ff.; Eph. 4 and 5; Rev. 22). It is astonishing to discover that a local synagogue of Jews (non-Christian, of course) is sometimes a member of the "council of churches" in an American city and that Buddhists venture to use the word "church" of their society. (The Toronto *Globe and Mail* in its weekly edition is just as lax in the employment of the word "church.") In the New Testament, however, "church" is a Christian term, and the Church of God takes its character from God's being the one and only God and from Christ's being the true Vine, the unique Saviour.

Doubtless some critics will say that this is horribly narrow-minded. Is the

Church to be thought of as a limited coterie of the spiritual élite, and will it survive only by a policy of rigorous exclusivism? John would reply, No. The Church is the community of those who love as Christ loves and who seek to glorify the Father. God so loved the world as to give his Son to death for its salvation. The Church is bound to be humble, gracious, patient, and forgiving if it would be true to its Lord. Its duty is to be missionary and to win the "Greeks," that is, the men and women who need the love of God and his truth in Christ but are still outside. For Christ has other sheep whom he would gather (10:16), and Christ exalted on the Cross will draw all men to himself (12:32). We must also take note that the Church is no self-appointed guardian of the divine purpose, nor simply a gathered community of the like-minded. The Church is the creation of the Son of God: "You did not choose me, but I chose you and appointed you. . ." (15:16; cf. 20:21–23). God is the Vine-dresser, who prunes the branches and casts out those that are withered (and these branches are individuals, not "denominations"—John had never heard of "denominations"!) So high and wonderful are the calling and glory of the Church of God in Jesus Christ!

If this biblical idea is to be expounded aright, then congregations have to be lifted up to a vision of the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church, the Vine that feeds on Christ and serves his will in the world. Far off on the prairie plains, far north amid Arctic tundra along the DEW Line, to the west among the Indians of British Columbia and to the east where wild Atlantic gales blow themselves out, the knowledge of what it means "to be the Church" has to be made manifest. No group is too small, too remote, too unlearned for the communication of this message. In the Sunday liturgy, by sermon and drama, by missionary news, by film and radio, by bulletins from Geneva, Canterbury, or New York, by personal visits from Churchmen of other lands, the message of the Church can be brought to both ministers and their people. And it must be. For Canada, like every other nation in the atomic age, needs to see God's Church in her midst, united, loving, truthful, forgiving, and doing its proper work by the grace of God.

III

"No longer slaves . . . but friends" (verses 12–15) strikes one as very odd in a discourse so spiritually profound as this. To grasp the full significance of the words it is necessary to remember that the Christ is the divine Son who must be honoured like his Father (5:23), that he is the good Shepherd, the royal Head of the people (10:1ff.), that he is Master or Teacher (*Rabboni*, 20:16). In each case the title has about it an ancient splendour. There is here no constitutional sovereignty, because for John and his time a King truly reigns, a Master has authority over his students, a Shepherd is one with powers of life and death. Hence there is nothing surprising in the idea that the disciples exist to serve the Lord's will. What is remarkable is that in this service there is a perfect freedom. "If the Son

makes you free, you will be free indeed" (8:36). "If any one serves me, he must follow me; and where I am, there shall my *deacon* (servant) be also; if any one serves me, the Father will honour him" (12:26). Again, when we remember how the Gospel begins ("In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God . . . And the Word became flesh"), it is breath-taking to watch the scene in the Upper Room where the Master and Teacher girds himself to wash the feet of his disciples, like any slave! This sublime example is given to the men of God for their own life: "blessed are you if you do them" (13:17). John seems to be reproducing in his own idiom a thought that is found in the tradition of the Sayings of Jesus both in Matthew and Luke (Matt. 10:24f.; Luke 6:40. "A disciple is not above his teacher, nor a slave above his master.")

There is no reason why the example of Jesus should be played down in the instruction given to churches about the life of a Christian. His life of sacrificial love, kindness, prayer, and complete devotion to God is the true type. Every faltering Christian who walks in his steps will cry out that the thing is too big, too demanding for him; and he will be correct. But failures in the Christian life arise when disciples step out of that narrow way Jesus walked or take their eyes off him who is the ideal (cf. Heb. 12:2f.). If this be true for the general body of the congregation, how much more for the pastors and the priests!

Once again the note of obedience is sounded: "This is my commandment, that you love one another as I have loved you. Greater love has no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends. You are my friends if you do what I command you." In the first instance the "greater love has no man than this" applies to Jesus himself. The Cross is the mighty deed that proves the word proclaimed by Jesus. He laid down his life in order to win friends and create the Church, and so doing he revealed what the Father is and what his purpose is, because they who have seen him have seen the Father. This may seem like an assertion of a dogmatic truth, and indeed it is; for John assumes that Jesus is the divine Word and Saviour. But then the whole business of his book, writes John (20:31), is to show Jesus as the Son of God who can give eternal life to the believer. Once a man has felt the impact of love from the crucified, once he has understood how common and mean is his life compared with that of Jesus, and how he is himself tied up with all the men and women who brought about the death of Jesus, he begins to see that in truth the final Reality is present in the Christ to judge and to redeem. Dogmatic statement then becomes the proclamation of his faith. It is the friends of Jesus who can write 1 John 1:1–4 or John 3:11 ("we speak of what we know").

"Greater love has no man than this" next applies to the friends, because in this Gospel the friend is one who has become a child of God (1:12). John may be thinking tenderly of the first martyrs who did give their lives in testimony to their Lord (e.g. Antipas of Pergamum or Polycarp of Smyrna). Many names might be cited of those who have followed this

example throughout the centuries; but that might also discourage the ordinary Christian. It would be excellent self-discipline if all those who sing heartily, "What a friend we have in Jesus," would ask themselves, "What kind of a friend does Jesus have in me?" For that is one way of putting the meaning of the Last Judgment. In the parable of Matt. 25:31ff. the answer is given in terms of what one has done for the hungry, the thirsty, the stranger, the naked, the sick, and the prisoner—unawares. Like Simon and Matrëna in Tolstoy's story, *What Men Live By*, men may entertain angels in the guise of the forsaken or even the Christ in the person of his tired and sinful ones. What kind of a friend? Judas and Peter both called themselves the friends of Jesus. Many who gamble with the money required for their family's support or waste their lives in fruitless enterprises are on the rolls of the churches. Some who fight about secondary matters of Church polity or treat their neighbours in other denominations with contempt, also describe themselves as the friends of Jesus. On the other side, it is good to remember that Peter and John were so transformed and enabled by the Spirit of God that the Sanhedrin took note of them that they had been with Jesus. In the second world war hundreds of very ordinary Christians in New Guinea, Burma, China, Japan and India displayed remarkable graces of the same Spirit. What sort of friend? Whether we are called Catholics or Evangelicals, Presbyterians or Baptists, Canadians or Koreans, we bear an awful responsibility when we are tagged with this name, "the friends of Jesus."

IV

John 15 has in mind not only the Betrayal Night, for it comes to us out of the life of the established Church with its sacraments, its pastors and missionaries, its heretics and also its enemies. Five times it is said that fruitfulness is essential to the vitality of the Vine (verses 2, 4, 5, 8, 16). What is meant by this? The Vine needs soil, rain and sun; it must be tended and pruned. John indicates that whatever corresponds to these in the spiritual life of the Church and the believer is the province of God, on whom we are utterly dependent for life and forgiveness. But the branches bear fruit only by being active in the service of the Gospel. At this point the static image of the Vine breaks down. John apparently does not want to suggest that the graces of individual sanctity are the "blossoms" or the "fruit" of the Vine. Rather he drops the image in order to make his point: "I appointed you that you should go and bear fruit and that your fruit should abide" (verse 16). The concept of "going" is just as important as that of "abiding." To go is to make obedience perfect; and it is in obedience, we saw above, that communion is deepened. There need be no fear that in going the disciple is leaving the safety of the vineyard or the shelter of the Master's presence. "Lo, I am with you always" (Matt. 28:20). Quite clearly John has in mind the missionary task of the Church (cf. 4:34–38; 13:16; 20:19–23; 21:15–17). The eleven faithful men, not least Peter,

are met in the Upper Room as representative of the whole Church (a comment of F. J. A. Hort). What was said to them is being said now to the Church.

Not every Christian, however, is willing to "go." Many seem to regard the Church as a haven of rest and the Christian religion as a spiritual "Florida-experience." They are the tired and bruised men and women who need the comfort of the Gospel, and they are everyone at some stage of life. Christ is for them, too. Nevertheless, it is questionable if in this age of anxiety it is adequate to treat the faith as some kind of tranquilizer pill or to make the Church a place of retreat. Different people have different needs, so that one must recognize the good that is done from time to time by the Peale form of Christianity. In personal life, too, as in history there are moments for withdrawal and others for advance. George F. MacLeod has used this pattern in the work of the Iona Community in Scotland, where members spend the summer months in study, prayer and work on the island and the winter months in Church Extension areas, in factories, and in mission fields wherever the Gospel needs to be brought to bear on modern social and political problems. In France the Jocist movement embodies a similar pattern. Our day has seen a recovery of the insight that even the ordinary Christian must learn to "go." It is not enough to receive the blessings; one must share the blessings with others. Moreover, it is hardly adequate to offer to the people of this age an individualistic piety that covers up ignorance or indifference about the troubles of national and international life with the hope that the saving of individuals will ultimately lead to the Kingdom of God on earth. Fruitful witnessing must be more realistic about the Nassers of the world and the rival programme of fascist or communist messiahs.

There is probably no aspect of contemporary Church life that needs greater clarification than this, and the pages of this *Journal* might well be used for its discussion. It is not easy to explain to the ordinary member (so-called) what the apostolate of the laity means. It is even more difficult if the crowds pouring into the churches of Canada today are seekers rather than witnesses. One may hesitate therefore to propose that willingness to share in the evangelical work of the Church should become a test for membership. And yet it is reported that the late Bishop Azariah of Dornakal in India used to make his catechumens promise to do this very thing. Whatever answers may be given, it remains true that evangelism as an activity of the whole congregation is a primary function.

The rewards of obedience are staggering: "so that whatever you ask the Father in my name, he may give it to you. . . . These things I have spoken to you, that my joy may be in you, and that your joy may be fulfilled" (15:11, 16). He who said this is the One "who for the joy that was set before him endured the cross" (Heb. 12:2). As the conqueror he is able to offer his friends the peace that the world cannot give nor take away, and the power of the Holy Spirit which enables the faithful to accomplish "greater things" for the good of man and the coming of the divine Kingdom.

Over all is written the Eleventh Commandment: "that you love one another as I have loved you." Baron von Hügel used to say that "Christianity taught us to care," and there is surely no neater definition of the faith. In every age young men and old, children and women, have seen in the life and example of the Lord Jesus what it means for God to love us and for us to love one another. Love like this puts to shame the jingoism of the nations; the cruel character assassinations indulged in by fearful men who are willing to use slander, gossip and insinuation, and direct accusation without fair trial; and the *apartheid* policies of all who despise the people of other cultures, other continents, or another colour. "Love one another, as I have loved you" is an impossible command, nevertheless it is the law by which the Church must live and work. By the grace of God, and only by his grace in the lives of willing servants and friends of Christ, can love be born and grow into the mature likeness of Jesus the Messiah, the Son of Man, the Saviour of the world, the Real Vine.

The Abomination of Desolation

GRAHAM COTTER

THIS study of the "little apocalypse" in St. Mark's Gospel had its point of departure in the study of English literature: it was a sense of poetic appropriateness which led me to see a connection between the frequent mention of the desert in this Gospel and the mysterious reference to the desolating abomination in Chapter 13. I sensed, on reading through the Gospel in Greek, that the symbolic relation between the actual desert in which Jesus both found and gave inspiration, and the spiritual desert, whether represented by Nazareth or by Jerusalem, where he was met by rejection, had not been fully grasped by the evangelist. Yet so essential was this contrast to the contents of Jesus' Gospel that its print had been left deep in the tradition. I went about looking for this symbolic connection much as I had been accustomed to tracking down allusions and symbolic patterns in poetry, yet I was aware that the evangelist was not a creative artist in the usual sense, but the servant of the Holy Spirit, an articulate member of Christ's Church, and an inheritor of the Gospel tradition. As an inheritor of that Gospel he might re-present it, but could he justly change its nature? I for one, could not nonchalantly assume that the Apostolic Church had invented for itself a Gospel not actually preached by Our Lord. Surely, I assumed, there is an essential Gospel pattern, substantially but not exhaustively expressed in the Gospels, and surely this pattern is properly original with the words, acts and intentions of Jesus himself. This pattern can, I think be agreed upon, and where there is important confusion we can distinguish between the truth and its distortion.

It is not my present concern to prove these assumptions, but, rather, to draw attention to those elements of the pattern which are relevant to the particular confusion which seems to exist in the "little apocalypse." Behind the obscurities of that chapter there lie, I contend, the confusion of the disciples about the nature of Jesus as Messiah, and the later confusion of the Apostolic Church about the nature of the Last Things. As we know, Jesus' claim to be the Christ—a claim which in this Gospel is made for him rather than by him—involves a considerable revolution in Messianic thinking. We would gather that in his own mind he is bringing together the known symbols Son of Man and Suffering Servant. This was the most difficult lesson for his followers to learn; hence, Jesus chides Peter when that hasty leader confesses him as Christ: not only will Peter stumble, but all will stumble, during the Passion, when they have to learn so bitterly that Redemption is through Messiah's death. A second and consequent change introduced by the Gospel into the apocalyptic thinking of the time is in the meaning of

the "Parousia of the Son of Man." Jesus would teach his flock that the Last Things are inaugurated by Calvary, and that nothing is more clearly the Parousia than the Resurrection. Indeed, one explanation of the abrupt ending of this Gospel at 16:8, is that the Resurrection is itself the appearing of the Son of Man, and there is no more to be said: the evangelist is living within this New Age, and the existence of the Church presents the resurrected Christ to the world.

This view of the Parousia is not found explicitly in the Gospel, and I suggest that the reason for its being obscured is, first, the bewilderment of the disciples over an "appearing" which transcends time, and yet is related to history, and, secondly, the natural recourse of Christians to Jewish apocalyptic and the attempt to establish a "program of events" within the Parousia. It was not entirely a relapse into Jewish apocalyptic; there was, I am sure, some such "rebirth of images" as Dr. Farrer suggests in his book on the Revelation; yet the imagination had to do something with the idea of futurity. For the Lord himself, the future reign had all but begun: the Kingdom is *at hand*. An apocalyptic statement from Jesus might therefore be expected to reveal to his followers something of the pattern of the Last Things which began with his Passion—but this revelation would very easily be overlaid a generation later by the messianic hopes of the persecuted Church.

Here, then, is my hypothesis. The misapprehension and incredulity of Jesus' followers are factors both before and after the Resurrection, but after the Resurrection they are less important and do not interfere essentially with the Gospel. As factors before the Passion they bore dynamic relationship to the preaching. To some extent the Jewish hope of an earthly messianic kingdom, shared in by the disciples, was one of the signs of a superficial religion: the Lord's Gospel was of a religion of the heart which would be manifested in obedience to the Father through life and unto death. In preaching such a Gospel to such a people Jesus naturally used the wilderness as a symbol to indicate both spiritual and natural death, and he used this symbolism, not only by word of mouth, but also by his acts. It is in the wilderness that he is baptized by John, and it is into the wilderness, that traditional waste land where the nomad is spiritually at home, that he retires to prepare himself for his ministry. He takes men into the desert places to teach men and to feed them. This is symbolic of the Incarnation, of his coming into the "wilderness of this world" to bring life into a land of death. But in the civilized places where the natural desert has been conquered the Lord is rejected, and these towns and cities where he meets sophisticated opposition are the breeding places of the worst sin. In such places he is met by spiritual desolation: yet to them he must go, for it is spiritual desolation he has come to heal. By his obedience to death he defeats not only physical death but also spiritual death, which is sin. Therefore, when he is approached with the usual request of messiah-seekers for an apocalyptic sign, he has two ways of answering. He answers the insincere seekers, the Pharisees, by saying that

no sign will be given to an insincere generation—for if they had a sign they would neither recognize it nor believe it. On the other hand, he gives the most understanding of his own followers all the sign they can expect in the Transfiguration: for what is this extraordinary event if it is not the Son of Man in the glory of the Father? This "appearing of the Son of Man" comes properly before the Passion, for the Parousia precedes the inauguration of the Saviour's kingdom. Yet the appearing is to the few and the glory is like a dream: the hard, bitter work of redemption is not done with pomp and circumstance but with humiliation and pain. As Vincent Taylor says, "What we detach from his shoulders is the glittering apocalyptic robe with which primitive Christianity clothed Him and with which He is still draped in popular Christian expectation." Such a penetration of the overlay of quasi-Christian apocalyptic to the true revelation of the personality and will of God is work essential to the Gospel and parallel to the evangelism of Jesus Himself. What such penetration amounts to in terms of the discourse in Chapter 13 is the assertion that if the Lord did preface the events of the Passion with counsel to his inner circle of disciples, the significance he would attach to the abomination of desolation would be altogether new: the foul and stinking thing which makes desolate is his own betrayal, trial, and delivery to death; it is the really potent sign, the Sign of the Cross, which the disciples must regard, not as a signal for insurrection, but as a sign of the End. There is a hint of such an original meaning in the very fact that *erēmōseōs* is related to *erēmos*, a desert place; the hint itself may be accidental, what is hinted is not.

Before we look more fully into this, let us recall the chapter in R. H. Lightfoot's *The Gospel Message of St. Mark* which is entitled "The Connexion of Chapter Thirteen with the Passion Narrative." Lightfoot there considers that the discourse contains hints of what is to come in the Passion. He draws a parallel between 13:9, "They shall deliver you up; in councils and synagogues shall ye be beaten; and ye shall stand before governors and kings," and parts of 14:53–15:15, where the "Lord is delivered by Judas to the Sanhedrin; he stands before it and before Pilate the governor, and he is scourged" (p. 52). Again, Lightfoot relates 13:22–23, "There shall arise false Christs and false prophets, and shall show signs and wonders, that they may lead astray, if possible, the elect. But take ye heed: behold I have told you all things beforehand," to the Lord's betrayal by Judas and the further warning to the disciples on the way to Gethsemane. He refers the statement, "of that *hour* knoweth no one," to the exact temporal reckoning of Christ's arrest when it does come. He compares the reference to the Parousia in the Discourse with the reference to it made by Jesus before the Sanhedrin. He points out that if the discourse is a preliminary warning of the events of the Passion, then there is not much difficulty in the verse, "Verily, I say unto you, this generation shall not pass away, until all these things be accomplished." He goes on in a dramatic paragraph to show that Mark "is at particular pains to dwell upon the steadily increasing and finally

complete dereliction of the Lord." But one thing Lightfoot does not find by way of parallel is a distinct reference to the death of the speaker of the discourse. Yet the Lord had already warned them of his death. How strange that he should not do so now. To my mind, that warning was there: "When you see the desolating abomination set up where it ought not to be—the Messiah executed outside his own capital city—then flee." There is a further parallel, which the iron grip of Jewish apocalyptic still makes it difficult for us to grasp: the Parousia of the Son of Man will come to end the tribulation, and that Parousia is the Resurrection.

If such a preliminary warning of the events which are to follow is the original nature of the discourse, then what is the provenance of its present form? It may be an artificial introduction to the Passion put there by the evangelist. It is not, however, a particularly successful artificial construction: it does not clearly lead us to the Passion, and it refers us to events which are apparently to take place at some indefinite time in the future. Scholars have assumed that the discourse is, instead, an interpolation, and that it derives from some separate apocalyptic document, part of which is distinctly Roman and part which is distinctly Judaean, and so forth. My own present assumptions forbid my making such sweeping guesses: I ask that we assume that Jesus did say or do some such things as are recorded, but that the original may have become distorted. Moreover, if we look at the discourse as originally a warning to the disciples, we see that nothing is more likely than such a warning to them just before the Passion.

However, as it stands, the discourse is an apocalypse, and it may be argued that it is an apocalypse constructed in the persecuted sub-Apostolic Church with the traditional models in mind but with special reference to the Lord's Passion as the type of the Church's own suffering. Certainly, the Passion is the type of the Church's suffering, but this does not mean that the discourse, as an apocalypse, is properly original with the Church. As it stands it is a guide to a persecuted Church, yet, as it stands, it is obviously not original. It is more confused than even apocalyptic can reasonably be. If we carefully remove lines or phrases which clearly refer to the persecuted Church or the later Judaean situation, and which could not be part of an original dominical discourse, we find a curious appropriateness to the situation of Jesus after he had made his final appearance in the temple, and before that institution of the Eucharist which was to be the signal for his Passion to begin.

In the circumstances, and in the light of the Fourth Gospel, the weight of the evidence is in favour of Jesus' having given some instruction to the disciples at this time. If that is so, we may well ask why the instruction is not as simple as the earlier instructions. Previously, he has told of his forthcoming Passion—how the Son of Man must go to Jerusalem and be delivered up and suffer at the hands of the chief priests and be put to death. The purpose of an apocalyptic discourse within a final warning to the inner circle would be, not only to warn of what was to come—they had been

warned of that—but also to explain the significance of the coming events. Similar explanation had been afforded a similar group of disciples in the revelation on the mount of Transfiguration. Traditional apocalyptic took within its purview things past, present and to come, and the acts and words of Jesus are significant for all men and all times. The significance which Our Lord had to explain was not transitory; he had to show how his Passion was to be the main theme of the Gospel. The original discourse, I suggest, was apocalyptic in form in order to stress the universal significance of the coming events, and in order to relate the traditional imagery of the messianic kingdom, the Parousia and the tribulations to the true facts about the Kingdom, the Appearing of the Son and the sufferings both of the Son of Man and of the Saints of God. Since the significance of the Passion and the Resurrection of Jesus constitutes the theme of the Christian Gospel it is not surprising that this earliest extant Gospel should be constructed around those events. The whole account of the ministry in Jerusalem is full of symbolic references to this significance: the entry into Jerusalem stresses the Messiahship of Jesus; the cleansing of the temple, perhaps, the participation of the Gentiles in the Gospel. More obscure are such events as the blasting of the fig-tree—an event which I look upon as an acted parable of the spiritual desolation of Jerusalem, laid bare and deprived of its pretensions to productivity. Perhaps this is the most significant symbol, for it is with reference to its destruction that the discourse begins.

As Jesus sits across from the temple he is asked what the sign will be of its coming destruction. His reply is that there will be troubles and there will be persecution, that they must flee when they see the *bdelugma tēs erēmōseōs*, and that then the Son of Man will come. But no man knows the hour and they must watch and pray. This is easily interpreted as for the persecuted Church. I do not suggest that the Lord was not giving counsel for the future and for his Church, but I think the discourse was originally intended to put a different emphasis on the Parousia as the fulfilment of the Church's hope. If we interchange the positions of the two major items we have quite a different pattern. It takes no great act of prediction for Jesus to see that the temple would be destroyed, in the light of the temper of the Jews. I suggest that the discourse begins with a more ambiguous reference to the destruction of the temple, one which relates its destruction to his own physical death. Here is the sequence and meaning of the postulated original discourse:

The disciples ask for a sign, perhaps more aware than the text indicates that Jesus is referring to himself when he talks of the temple. The sign, he replies, will be the abomination of desolation: not the desecration of the temple by worship of Zeus Olympios or Caligula's horse—these earlier and later desecrations are shadows of the supreme sacrilege—but the making of the temple of his own body into a stinking thing, a corpse, which brings desolation to the faithful who see it. Then let them flee, for they must accept his humiliation without yet sharing his suffering (and, indeed, forty years later, let them flee again when the temple of the old dispensation is dese-

crated). Then follows the warning of tumult and persecution, probably less elaborate than it stands now, and the declaration that he will come in glory at the right hand of the Father, as they have already briefly seen him in the Transfiguration. He concludes with the warning that they must watch. No one knows the hour when these things will take place, but when once they begin the others will follow. This apocalyptic reference to Last Things I take to mean, among other things, that Our Lord did not have anything like a handy timetable to the events of the Resurrection and the Ascension and the "coming," all of which he refers to as the appearing of the Son of Man. It is not possible for Jesus, in his human capacity, to know "when these things will be" in any exact way before they happen to him. It is a part of the suffering of Gethsemane and Calvary that Jesus, although according to the tradition he had assurance of rising in three days to a hoped-for consummation which would conquer sin and death for ever, looked out across a death as bleak as any human death could be.

After the inauguration of these Last Things the time-sequence, although transcended by the New Age, is still the earthly condition of that New Age's realization in history. The Appearing then takes many forms: the appearances in a transformed body to the disciples, vision of the Ascension, the coming of the Holy Spirit, the appearance to St. Paul, the visions of St. John on Patmos. Essentially, the Last Things are still not subject to a temporal schedule. The difficulty of recording the Resurrection appearances and such indescribable happenings as the Ascension is just one indication of this. That the Second Person of the Trinity should have taken his risen human nature to "the right hand of the Father" is hard enough to grasp. The Lord's command, however, is clear enough. We are intended to keep watching for the Bridegroom, not just in the sky, but everywhere, all the time: he is always coming, always appearing to us when we do not expect him, and our life in the Church is a life in his presence. In our dynamic relation to the Gospel, being saved by it and called by it, yet being sent also to proclaim it, we are caught up into the life of God; and it is natural that we should return, after we read Chapter 16, verse 8, to Galilee, to begin again the cycle whose consummation is sketched in the apocalyptic discourse, but whose whole meaning is as well stated in the first Chapter:

> "The time is fulfilled,
> and the kingdom of God is at hand."

The Conference on Christian Unity, Toronto, 1889

THOMAS R. MILLMAN

FEW would wish to dispute Archbishop Temple's declaration made at his consecration in 1942 that the world fellowship which has come into being through the Ecumenical Movement is "the great new fact of our era." Yet the progress of the Movement and the creation of the fellowship in the twentieth century was rendered possible by thought and action on the part of nineteenth century Christians. Numbered among these pioneers of unity were leaders of the Canadian churches.

I

Actual legal establishment of the Church of England in several British North American provinces, and the claim to such establishment in others, brought that Church into the arena of politics in the early part of the century, and made cooperation difficult between Anglicans and their neighbours. But with the settlement of the Clergy Reserve problem in united Canada in 1854, the attainment of self-government through the granting of statutory right to meet in synod in 1857, and the consequent severing of all connection between church and state, friendlier relations became possible. In 1850, for example, Bishop John Medley of Fredericton devoted a large part of his episcopal charge to his clergy to a discussion of unity, but he stated clearly his opinion that cooperation with non-episcopal bodies on a religious level was seldom possible. A quarter of a century later Bishop Ashton Oxenden of Montreal made a large-hearted plea for unity. In the course of a sermon preached in Hamilton, Ontario, he said: "We must be prepared to make reasonable sacrifices if we would effect so great and glorious an object. We have hitherto expected perhaps that all the sacrifices should be made by others and none by ourselves."[1]

In 1881, at a conference of diocesan clergy called by Bishop Sweatman of Toronto and held in Trinity College, two papers were read on the subject of unity. One of these, delivered by Provost Whitaker, was entitled "The Attitude of the Church in this Country towards the Denominations." In it the Provost outlined that attitude somewhat rigidly, but he also asked that representatives of "the Denominations" should be equally frank in stating their cherished convictions. James Carmichael, an eminent Montreal Rector, read a further paper on "The Best Steps for Promoting the Unity of

1. *The Unity of the Church.* A Sermon Preached in St. Thomas' Church, Hamilton, May 2, 1875 (Montreal: Dawson Brothers, Publishers).

Christendom." He pleaded for practical action to be taken, and added: "I can see no value in unity as long as it is merely sentimental and confined to platform orations that perish in their breathing."[2] Not long after, both in written and in spoken word, Dean Carmichael took such practical action.[3]

In 1888 John de Soyres, newly-appointed Rector of St. John's Church, St. John, N.B., published four lectures on Christian Reunion which he had given at Cambridge two years before.[4] Although he made no reference to the Canadian situation yet his words well illustrate the keen interest which the topic held at the time for Anglican minds.

Undoubtedly much of this interest had been aroused by the Lambeth Conferences. It is well known that the first gathering of the kind was proposed by John Travers Lewis, Anglican Bishop of the Diocese of Ontario, at the third synod of the ecclesiastical province of Canada held in Montreal in 1865.[5] In an ordination sermon preached at Oxford in December of the following year Francis Fulford, Bishop of Montreal and Metropolitan, stated forcefully his hope that before other schemes of comprehension were considered "the Anglican Church in all its branches will make some more real and effectual advance towards manifesting her unity before men."[6] This hope was in fact fulfilled by the calling of the first "Pan-Anglican Synod" at Lambeth in 1867. Matters of domestic concern took up the attention of the first conference, but at the second gathering, which also owed its origin to Canadian initiative, the question of Moravian orders and the position of the Old Catholics were discussed.[7] At the third meeting in 1888 the famous Chicago-Lambeth "Quadrilateral" was set up as a standard of unity.[8] The world-wide expansion of Christian missions, the formation of

2. Both papers are printed in the *Dominion Churchman*, January 13 and 20, 1881. For comment on these papers see *Church Union in Canada*, by C. E. Silcox, pp. 106–7.

3. *Organic Union of Canadian Churches with a Comparison of Authorized Standards*, by the Very Rev. James Carmichael, M.A., D.C.L., Dean of Montreal (Montreal: Dawson Brothers, Publishers). Editorial comment is made in the *Dominion Churchman*, May 9, 1889.

4. *Christian Reunion. The Hulsean Lectures for 1886*, by Rev. John de Soyres, M.A. . . . (St. John, N.B.: J. & A. McMillan, 1888).

5. For a discussion of Canadian participation in the origin of the Lambeth Conference movement see the *Canadian Churchman*, August 5 and 19, and October 7, 1948.

6. *A Pan-Anglican Synod.* A Sermon Preached . . . in Oxford, on Sunday, Dec. 23, 1866, by Francis Fulford, D.D. (Oxford: Rivingtons, 1867).

7. *The Five Lambeth Conferences* (S.P.C.K., 1920), p. 14. See also *A History of the Ecumenical Movement, 1517–1948*, edited by Ruth Rouse and S. C. Neill (S.P.C.K., 1954), p. 264.

8. As reproduced in the "Appeal to All Christian People" issued by the Lambeth Conference of 1920, the Quadrilateral runs as follows:

"We believe that the visible unity of the Church will be found to involve the whole-hearted acceptance of:

"The Holy Scriptures, as the record of God's revelation of Himself to man, and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith; and the Creed commonly called Nicene, as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith, and either it or the Apostles' Creed as the Baptismal confession of belief:

"The divinely instituted sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Communion, as expressing for all the corporate life of the whole fellowship in and with Christ:

"A ministry acknowledged by every part of the Church as possessing not only the inward call of the Spirit, but also the Commission of Christ and the authority of the whole body."

(*Christian Unity: The Anglican Position*, by G. K. A. Bell, Bishop of Chichester [London, 1948], p. 109.)

inter-denominational bodies such as the Evangelical Alliance, combined with the blessing given by Lambeth to reunion plans, made Christian unity a live topic in ecclesiastical circles in Canada as well as in other parts of the world.

At the Provincial Synod held in Montreal in September, 1880, another voyage of discovery was begun. John Langtry, Rector of St. Luke's, Toronto, moved, and James Carmichael seconded, that Synod request the Bishops to enter into communication with other church bodies on the subject of reunion.[9] No action was taken at that time, or even at the next Synod in 1883, but in 1886 it was finally resolved "that a Committee . . . be appointed to confer with any similar Committees appointed to represent other Christian bodies, for the purpose of ascertaining whether there is any possibility of honourable union with such bodies." The committee, with sixty-five clerical and lay members, including three bishops, was instructed to report to the following session of Synod in 1889.[10]

Meanwhile, significant events had taken place within two large Canadian Church families. In 1874, and finally in 1884, a series of unions had brought together the separated sections of Methodism into the Methodist Church. Another series had led to the mending of division in the ranks of Presbyterianism, and the creation of the Presbyterian Church in Canada in 1875. Accordingly the Anglican committee communicated with the superior courts of the two recently-united Churches, which in turn set up committees charged with similar duties. The three groups finally decided to hold a Conference on Christian Unity. The date set was April 24 and 25, 1889; the place was to be a lecture room in Association Hall, a large building which stood on the corner of Yonge and McGill Streets, Toronto.

It has been asserted that the Congregationalists were overlooked when arrangements for the conference were made.[11] Any lack of courtesy on the part of the Anglicans must of course be deplored, but there is no clear evidence on which to judge this circumstance. In his *Organic Union of Canadian Churches*, published at the time, Dean Carmichael compared Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational polities, and drew the conclusion that little could be expected "from the great Congregational system in any initial movement towards organic union."[12] It was undoubtedly this persuasion, shared by his Anglican colleagues, which explains the lack of a positive approach to Congregationalists and probably to Baptists as well at this stage of negotiations.

II

As the Anglicans had first proposed the conference they made the most preparation for it, and by common consent were allowed to lead in its proceedings. The 1886 synod committee met at least once, listened to papers

9. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Provincial Synod of the United Church of England and Ireland in Canada*, 1880, p. 83.
10. *Journal*, Provincial Synod of Canada, 1886, pp. 54, 55, and 74.
11. *Church Union in Canada, Its Causes and Consequences*, by Claris Edwin Silcox, New York, 1933, pp. 109–10.
12. Carmichael, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

on important topics, and circularized such papers to absent members. From the larger committee twenty-two clergymen and eight laymen attended the conference. Clerical members of this able delegation included Bishops Sweatman of Toronto, Hamilton of Niagara, and Baldwin of Huron, Provost Body of Trinity College, seven prominent rectors of Toronto diocese, four from Niagara, three from Ontario, two from Huron, and one each from Quebec and Montreal. The Presbyterians sent a powerful group of nine ministers and five laymen, including Dr. McMullen, Moderator of the General Assembly, and Principal Caven of Knox College. The Methodist delegates, who met together briefly on the opening day of the conference, numbered twelve ministers and two laymen, and included the General Superintendent Dr. Carman, President Nathanael Burwash of Victoria University, Dr. E. B. Ryckman and Dr. E. H. Dewart.

The delegations went into the first session of the conference at eight o'clock in the evening of April 24, 1889, under the chairmanship of Bishop Sweatman. The meeting was not open to the public and the press was excluded.[13] Brief addresses on the spirit of the gathering were given by representatives of the three Communions. Bishop Baldwin set the right tone by declaring: "The secret of all unity is a growing nearness to Jesus Christ."[14] Dr. Sutherland, Methodist, spoke of the importance of the conference, "which in its composition and its purposes has scarcely a parallel in the history of the Christian Church." Principal Caven referred to the recent Canadian Church unions and added: "This is a larger and more serious but not less blessed enterprize that we have undertaken."

The Chairman then gave an historical account of the movement for unity, tracing its immediate source to the action of the Provincial Synod of 1886. He emphasized that the conference was called to discover what basis existed for agreement, and he briefly advanced the Lambeth articles as a ground of union. It was then planned to deal, in short order, with six subjects. Two of these, Corporate Union, and Amount of Unity in Doctrine, Worship and Modes of Action between the Three Bodies, were intended to be preliminary, but in fact took up much time and produced lively discussion. The other four subjects, only the first two of which were debated, were Holy Scripture, the Creeds, the Sacraments, and the Historic Episcopate.

The opening address on Corporate Union was given by John Langtry, mover of motions in synods of 1880 and 1886. He put forward the scriptural basis for unity, painted the evils of division and rivalry, and pointed out the gains which unity would bring. The Anglican aim in calling the

13. Exclusion of the press was condemned by the *Dominion Churchman*, and defended by one of the Anglican delegates, John Carry, in the May 28, 1889, issue.

14. Direct quotations from speeches delivered at the conference are taken from the *Report on the Conference on Christian Unity held in the City of Toronto, April 24th and 25th, 1889, between Delegates appointed by the Superior Courts of the Anglican, Presbyterian and Methodist Churches* (Toronto: Printed by C. Blackett Robinson. Printed for the members of the Conference Exclusively. Pp. 46.)

Few copies of this printed report survive. The copy consulted is preserved in the Library of Mount Allison University.

conference, he asserted, was not that the representatives should make complimentary speeches to one another, or to parcel out the land between them and arrange not to interfere with one another's preserves, or even to bring about a federation, but to explore the possibility of corporate unity under one Head. He was so far a realist as to observe: "I do not venture to hope that we shall accomplish union tonight."

The second speaker, Dr. Stewart, Principal of the Theological Department of Sackville College, N.B., disagreed with the concept of corporate unity, and with the interpretation commonly put on the words which Christ uttered in his great intercessory prayer (John 17, 20–23). He felt that there was a unity quite compatible with differences of government, and he hoped for intercommunion and exchange of pulpits.

On the following morning the discussion was resumed, with Dr. Cochrane, Presbyterian, in full agreement with Langtry's address. Dr. Dewart, Methodist, slightly toned down the remarks which Stewart had made on the previous evening, but he was mainly in agreement with them. He explained that he held doctrines of the church and the ministry different from those of Langtry, and that in consequence he held a different idea of unity. He gently pointed out that unity of organization such as Anglicans possessed did not necessarily promote unity of doctrine, as anyone knew who had read Langtry's writings in the public papers.[15]

Provost Body put the discussion back on the rails by affirming that Anglicans had come to the conference with practical proposals, and to get Methodists and Presbyterians to state whether in their thought of the matter union should be attained. "We are not here to minify differences," he said. "We will give up everything which we do not believe our Blessed Lord intended us to keep." Principal Caven then spoke strongly in favour of organic union, and indeed later on he prepared a resolution to that effect which was debated by the conference but not put to a vote. Dr. Sutherland reminded his hearers that corporate unity prevailed in the middle ages and yet Christian truth had become overlaid by error. He cautioned against haste and the holding of too high expectations. Dr. Proudfoot, Presbyterian, expressed the opinion that unity would strengthen the moral power of the church in national affairs, but his experience in Presbyterian unions had taught him how slowly the process worked. Dr. Charles Mockridge declared that forces making for unity were also operating in Anglicanism, and he urged union as an aid to foreign and domestic missions. He brought in a light touch by relating, as a practical application of unity, that when he was in parish life his horse and that of the local Presbyterian minister shared the same pasture. When the latter's beast strayed one day the Presbyterian's manservant hitched up Mockridge's horse, and the minister set out for a

15. John Langtry was exceedingly plain-spoken. Examples of his vivacity of style may be culled from his published writings such as a lecture on *Presbyterianism*, and even his *History of the Church in Eastern Canada and Newfoundland*, for long the only Canadian Anglican history.

service, not noticing the substitution until it was too late to return. Mused Dr. Mockridge: "Perhaps he was so busy studying out his sermon that he forgot all about it." The final speaker on the subject, Dr. Williams, Methodist, reverted to the idea that the Saviour did not mean corporate unity, that cooperation was the better way, and that he could not rid himself of his intellectual perceptions on the subject.

The second item on the program was the reading and discussion of a paper by Dean Carmichael on "The Amount of Unity in Doctrine, Worship and Modes of Action between the Three Bodies." It was based on a comparative study of the Westminster Confession of Faith, the Methodist Articles, and the Anglican Thirty-nine Articles. The paper abundantly illustrated that basic doctrines of the Christian faith were held in common by all three confessions, and expressed the conviction that differences in worship and church order were not insurmountable. Non-Anglican members of the conference were somewhat overwhelmed by the paper and approached it with caution, but after being dryly reminded by G. C. Mackenzie of Brantford that it was simply a statement of facts, and that a beginning had to be made somewhere, the conference finally reviewed certain ideas with which the paper had dealt. In the course of the discussion Professor Maclaren of Knox said that he was not sanguine of seeing corporate union in his day. But as Columbus had set out for India and had made an unexpected discovery, so the churches might attain something of equal value with organic union, a united spirit and brotherly love. Dr. E. B. Ryckman followed shortly after with the warmest Methodist speech up to that point. He hoped to see union in his time, and likewise hoped that Anglicans would surprise the conference with the extent of their concessions so that faster progress might be made.

By that time the afternoon was well advanced, and the Anglican bastion of the Quadrilateral had not even been approached. The first side was ably dealt with by Bishop Baldwin in a paper on Holy Scripture. He was able to satisfy the conference of the soundness and orthodoxy of the Anglican position. The second side was approached by Provost Body who made a lucid exposition of the three creeds in relation to Anglican belief and practice. In the discussion which followed, it became clear that Methodists and Presbyterians did not make as much use of creeds in worship, or pay the same respect to them as Anglicans apparently did. Presbyterians thought that the creeds were sketchy, and they preferred the Westminster Confession as a fuller statement of belief. One Methodist speaker objected to being asked to accept the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds as part of a basis of union, but all professed to maintain the doctrines contained in these ancient symbols.

The paper on the third side of the Quadrilateral, "Conditions of Administration of the Sacraments," had gone astray in the mail and failed to arrive, hence that important topic had to be omitted from the program. This meant that time was still left to hear the final paper on the most contentious side

of all, "The Historic Episcopate," ably and carefully presented by John Carry, Rector of Port Perry, Ontario.

Dr. Carry began by quoting (in the original Latin) from correspondence between Archbishop Wake on the one side, and Jean Le Clerc of Amsterdam, the Gallican theologian L. E. Du Pin, and the Professors and Pastors of Geneva on the other, during union negotiations in 1715–1719. Methodically, he then established the following points: (1) That members of the conference had a sincere desire to attain the objects for which they had come together; (2) That all compromise should be disclaimed, and that it was to be hoped that none would swerve from truth and conscience to secure a semblance of success; (3) That it was the business of the conference to secure truth and to reconcile claims of individual consciences in the interests of corporate reunion; (4) That neither truth nor conscience would be aggrieved by the admission of episcopacy as a fact; (5) That the origins of parliament and of Sunday are obscure, yet citizens have duties to perform in relation to the one, and Christians are bound to observe the other; that the formation of the New Testament Canon is obscure, and so is the origin of the episcopate, yet the same authorities as witness to the Canon witness as well to the antiquity of the episcopate; (6) That

> By acting on this fact we should be able to make union a fact. No one proposes the acceptance of any theory or thinks of the imposition of any dogma. There can hardly be any broader platform than that of the Church of England. She is content to state the historic fact of the continued existence of Three Orders in the ministry from the Apostles' days, and she leaves opinion free—absolutely it seems. Thus within her bosom is found a variety of opinions respecting the nature, rise, powers and offices of the Christian ministry, while there will be found a steady determination not to surrender or abandon an institution which, so far as we know, is coeval with the Church, and, at any rate, has come down to this day, side by side with the New Testament, as part of her inalienable heritage.

(7) That there is a presbyterian element in the Anglican rite of ordination to the priesthood; (8) That episcopacy is normally constitutional; (9) That all that experience has shown useful in circuits, conferences and presbyteries could easily be retained by or adapted to the new order; (10) Is the surrender of names too great a sacrifice for unity? (11) What other basis of unity could there be? (12) "We are convinced that the position we advocate in this conference is more likely to secure Faith and Freedom and Union than existing systems; and so we commit the matter to your loving and faithful consideration, and to the Guiding Hand of God."

As the lateness of the hour, 9.55 p.m., precluded discussion of Dr. Carry's paper the conference decided not to report it to the newspapers, but to reproduce it in the full minutes which were to be circulated to the members. Then the gathering closed, as it had begun, with brief remarks by denominational representatives. John Langtry said that "by brethren of the

Church of England he was held responsible for having brought the matter into discussion." He confessed that although he had come to the meeting with trepidation yet it had been good to be there. Dean Carmichael said that few acts of the lives of the members would give them greater pleasure to reflect upon. Principal Caven soberly prophesied that although corporate union might be difficult, even impossible, to attain, yet the spiritual results of the meeting would not be lost. Dr. Williams commented that the idea had taken hold of his mind, thought and judgment. So with the confirming of minutes, the singing of the Doxology, and the pronouncing of the Benediction, the conference ended.

III

Bishop Sweatman, chairman of the Anglican committee, gave a report of the conference to the Provincial Synod of the following September. He told that although no formal resolutions had been adopted, grounds existed for hope that at least three of the Lambeth articles might be arrived at as a basis of agreement.[16] Synod then appointed a further committee which in turn brought in a report in the session of 1892. In this latter document it was related that letters had been sent to the General Assembly and the General Conference conveying the Synod's willingness to take further steps towards reunion. In July, 1892, the Presbyterians had replied, telling of General Assembly's action in 1890. This action, in short, was to appoint another committee and to declare that the Nicene Creed was insufficient as a confession of faith. The Assembly accepted the Historic Episcopate in harmony with New Testament teaching. Methodists, at their General Conference of 1890 had insisted on the parity of presbyter and bishop, and had also appointed a standing committee. At the conclusion of the report of 1892 the Synod committee expressed its regret at the general indifference of Christians to reunion, recommended that special forms of prayer for unity be drawn up, and that the committee be reappointed.[17]

After the first Anglican General Synod in 1893 a Bishops' Pastoral was issued, again proposing the Lambeth articles of 1888 as a basis of union.[18] The same basis was reasserted by the General Synod of 1896, with the added statement that the object of the Church of England was indeed reunion, not absorption.[19] But by this time interest in Canadian church union with Anglican participation had temporarily failed. The machinery of committees existed but the will to operate the machinery was lacking. To this day, however, General Synod has always discussed the problem at its triennial gatherings. The 1955 Journal of that body contains a carefully prepared "Report of the Committee on the Reunion of Christendom," as well as a "Report of the Committee on Ecumenical Affairs."

16. *Journal*, Provincial Synod of Canada, 1889, pp. 103–5.
17. *Journal*, Provincial Synod of Canada, 1892, pp. 114–18.
18. *Journal of Proceedings of the General Synod of the Church of England in the Dominion of Canada*, 1893, p. 93.
19. *Journal*, General Synod, 1896, pp. 31–32.

It is clear that in 1889 the churches were not of one mind, even within themselves, on the need for reunion. Principal Caven had spoken at the conference itself with enthusiasm, but in presenting his committee's report to the 1890 General Assembly he warned that body not to infer that great progress had been made. Professor Maclaren had indeed counselled caution, but at the opening exercises of Knox College in the autumn of 1889 he came out in flat opposition to the movement, remarking that the need of the world was more Christian lives rather than a vast ecclesiastical corporation. A contemporary journal commented that at the end of Maclaren's address "there was little left of organic union but the funeral."[20] In the next issue of the same journal, a correspondent, "Knoxonian," agreed with the professor's position.

The Methodist approach was also negative. Shortly after the conference Dr. Dewart printed in the paper which he edited a list of what he considered to be the weak points of the plan. Some of these points had been exposed at Association Hall, but they still retain interest. The writer maintained that members of different churches held honest differences in respect to intellectual truth; that the most earnest promoters among the Anglicans were those who held the unscriptural doctrine of apostolical succession, and that a strong desire for corporate unity follows from this exclusive theory of the Church; that it was assumed without proof and in the face of history that union would cure existing evils; that union would cause serious disturbances within the Churches; and that it was constantly assumed that Christ meant corporate unity when he prayed that all might be one. The writer believed that the rise of Methodism was providential even if it meant the breaking of such unity. He concluded by asserting that the Churches had much to learn and to do in charity, fellowship and cooperation, before they were ripe for organic union.[21]

Anglicans, too, were divided on the subject. One church paper of the time printed a violent editorial headed "A Rock Ahead of the Union Bark" in which dark prognostications were made of what would happen to the Church of England if the Low Church view of unity should prevail.[22] That view, possibly the idea of a federation of Protestant churches as a step on the way towards organic union, had indeed been mildly proposed by another church paper in an editorial, but the writer had evinced no great enthusiasm one way or the other.[23] Both editors were frustrated in commenting on the conference itself because of lack of information.

From the Anglican viewpoint little was accomplished by this early effort to attain unity, yet the meeting of 1889 undoubtedly had a part in preparing for future unions. Within thirteen years action was taken at Winnipeg which

20. *Canada Presbyterian*, October 16, 1889, The *Dominion Churchman* commented with some acidity on Maclaren's address, October 31, 1889.
21. *Christian Guardian*, May 1, 1889.
22. *Dominion Churchman*, May 30, 1889.
23. *Evangelical Churchman*, April 25 and May 1, 1889.

led to the eventual union of Methodists, Presbyterians and Congregationalists in the United Church of Canada in 1925. But Canadian Anglicans continue to work and to pray for the unity of all Christian people. John Langtry, still hopeful, made a contribution by publishing a candid appeal on behalf of reunion in 1900.[24] Herbert Symonds, President of the Canadian Society of Christian Unity, had a short series of lectures printed at the same time.[25] Later, as Dean of Montreal, he carried on the succession begun in that city by Fulford, Oxenden and Carmichael.

With the advance of the twentieth century Christian unity has assumed a vastly greater importance and attracted wider attention than was possible even two generations ago. The development of the World Council of Churches has lifted the whole discussion to a higher level than in past years. True, it is not the function of that Council to negotiate unions between churches, yet its end will not be attained until churches come more closely together in godly union and concord. That difficult accomplishment, the incorporation of episcopal, presbyteral and congregational elements has already been achieved by the Church of South India, and similar unions are even now in the making.

The Toronto Conference of 1889 was almost entirely the concern of Canadian church leaders, indeed only of a small number within that group. The subjects with which it dealt held little interest for the rank and file of church members. It was undertaken in secretive fashion, with inadequate preparation. It failed to reach any positive or ultimate end, although in a negative way it gained its immediate objective by demonstrating that agreement on the necessity of corporate unity did not in fact exist at the time. Yet it was an honest attempt, the first of its kind in Canada, to reach a common understanding on matters of the deepest importance to Christian communions even yet separated from one another. It threw light on "The Nature of the Unity We Seek," a quest which will be intensely pursued at the Faith and Order Conference to be held in Oberlin, Ohio, next September. Because of these things the Toronto Conference merits remembrance and praise.

24. *Come Home: An Appeal on Behalf of Reunion*, by the Rev. John Langtry, M.A., D.C.L. (Toronto, MDCD).
25. *Lectures on Christian Unity*, by Herbert Symonds, M.A. (Toronto, 1899).

Struggle in Japan

JOHN E. F. HASTINGS

IN Asia, where half of the world's people live, one of the greatest struggles for the allegiance of mind and heart in the history of mankind is being waged. Nationalism, insecurities, and fears are being exploited with consummate cunning to further the expansion of communist rule and to increase distrust of democracy and the West. Already many peoples have been lost. Others are wavering under the combination of assiduous wooing and naked threats. It is frighteningly clear that the struggle has entered a new phase of critical intensity. There are facts whose importance to us in Canada compels urgent and careful consideration. Every month of indifference and hesitation on our part makes less certain our chance of success in this struggle for the souls of men.

Though the details, as observed in India, Ceylon, and more recently in Japan, and from contacts with Asians of other lands, vary from country to country, there is an underlying similarity in the patterns. Japan, a modern nation, has moved farthest along the path which other Asian lands now so eagerly tread. In her history and present story we can see mirrored many of the hopes, the fears, and the struggles of these other lands.

Japan has been a separate entity for hundreds of years. Geography and a further self-imposed isolation of more than two centuries have combined to create a profound sense of continuity with the past. The imperial family, with its quasi-divine history and its alleged unbroken descent of three thousand years, symbolizes to the Japanese the heritage and destiny of their nation, the "Children of the Sun." But the roots of this consciousness are firmly embedded in their own hearts. Thus, a farmer tells with pride that he occupies land which has been in his family for over three hundred years. So also, the most enthusiastic young radical seeks examples of his own idealism among the heroes of his nation's past.

In the colourful history of Japan the remarkable ability of her people to adapt foreign ideas and customs to their own use stands out. Fourteen hundred years ago a new religion and culture, a new system of writing, and a new legal and political organization were adopted from China within a century or so. Again, in the decades following the Meiji Restoration of 1868, Japan changed from a feudal type of society to a modern, industrial nation able to stand on equal ground with the great and powerful nations of the world. These are chapters in human history unique in design and sweep. They tell of the reasoned selection of only those ideas desired and of how, in turn, they were fitted into the existing pattern of Japanese life to form a new one, but one inseparably bound to an uninterrupted past.

This ability to change without severing her roots is traced by scholars to

the "web society," the unusually intricate Japanese social pattern, with its myriad of obligations and intertwining relationships. Shinto, Buddhist, and Confucian beliefs have intermingled to produce a culture stressing the group, be it family, community, or nation, rather than the individual. Other peoples have had powerful family systems but the "web society" is more than a form of social organization. It is a way of life which governs every Japanese in all his thoughts and actions from birth to death. Superficially, it is seen in what the foreigner is apt to regard as devious thought patterns and excessive politeness. Without these intricate rules of thought and behaviour human relationships would be difficult, if not intolerable, in so crowded and so all-embracing a society.

Such a pattern leads to a marked degree of family affection and co-operative responsibility but it leaves little place for the desires and talents of the individual. The incessant demands of complex obligations and the continuous suppression of personality to the group gradually build up frustrations, no less powerful because the process is so subtle that it is rarely noticed by the individual himself. Normally, deeper feelings are masked by the pattern of behaviour or find temporary release in socially accepted ways. In a situation for which no rules exist, as in wartime, the pent-up emotions can burst out with a terrifying violence which shocks even those in whom they existed when once more they find themselves in familiar surroundings. In addition, one element from the turbulent feudal period, the warrior code of "Bushido," has been used in the recent past by militarist rulers to instill a spirit of ruthless fanaticism.

As a people living on an archipelago relatively poor in natural resources, the Japanese have long been aware that life is a struggle, whether it is wrested from land or sea. The forces of nature are quite impersonal, sometimes helping and sometimes destroying men. There are moments of serenity and peace but there is also the violence of storm and earthquake. For the Japanese the basis of life is too clear and immutable to encourage metaphysical speculation. In such a world the only assurance of permanence is to come as close as possible into harmony with nature. There are, of course, gay and even boisterous elements in Japanese life but throughout is an underlying strain of melancholy.

Art, music, and literature all reflect the search for glimpses of enlightenment in a world of harsh realities. Truths are to be found in the momentary experience of a cherry blossom falling into a pool, the croaking of a frog on a summer night, or the reflection of a moonbeam. The skill of an artist depends on his ability to evoke a complementary response in the mind of the observer rather than in sketching out in detail his own emotion and thought. It is, perhaps, because of this complementary role which the observer must play that there is enthusiastic participation by so many in all walks of life in the writing of poetry, flower arranging, the perfection of the tea ceremony, and in other forms of artistic expression.

For the foreigner, the search for harmony with nature may be easily

observed in the gardens of unsurpassed beauty with their careful blending of form and composition of water, shrubs, trees, and distant mountains to create a sense of peace and oneness with nature which enables men to regain composure and a sense of their place in existence. The initial impression of a plainness in a moss or stone garden may seem almost the antithesis of beauty but further contemplation leads to an understanding that beauty and truth may be found in other than the elaborate or dramatic.

Japanese homes reflect the same virtues in their frugality of design and furnishings. Quality is determined by the choice of materials and the skill of the workmanship. A flawless piece of wood as a pillar, a lovely wall hanging, an exquisite art object are the marks of a home's beauty.

All Japanese are acutely aware of their vulnerable economic position. Over eighty percent of all raw materials used in industry and twenty percent of food must be imported. The partnership of government and business is making every effort to expand trade without resorting to the discreditable pre-war practices. Serious obstacles confront such efforts. China, formerly a major customer, is partly closed to Japanese trade. Many Asian nations remain antagonistic because of wartime experiences or are trying to encourage embryo home industries. Western nations from whom Japan buys most of her imports are beginning to show signs of raising barriers to the entry of Japanese products. Despite great trade increases, Japan's dollar deficit is only met through purchases by the American treaty forces, a diminishing source of such funds.

It is to our long-term advantage to help Japan improve her present unfavourable trade balance with us. If we want Japan as our friendly customer, we must be willing to be her friendly customer. Short-sighted and selfish trade policies could force Japan, so vitally dependent upon trade, into the communist orbit.

Always complicating the economic picture is the large and growing population. Its effect is felt in every aspect of life, whether it be farming, education, industry, politics or health. The influence is especially marked in a land intensively cultivated, low even in basic natural resources, and possessing one of the highest densities of population in the world.

Economic and population pressures helped the expansionist policy of the militarists, a policy which finally led to war. Around them in South-East Asia the Japanese saw rich, underpopulated territories under the control of European nations. It was no problem to raise the cry of "Asia for the Asians" and to carry it further to a feeling that Japan had as much or more right to these lands. The situation is even more critical today because of the repatriation of overseas Japanese from former colonies to the homeland, an annual population increase of approximately 900,000 people, despite a relatively low birth rate, and the restrictive immigration policies of less populated countries like Canada.

It is useless to talk of friendly equality to Asian nations when exclusive immigration laws belie our words. No one suggests altering the basic com-

position of our population. All that is asked is a selective immigration policy based on criteria other than race and colour. We are concerned over the serious shortage of trained people in Canada. In the young, educated Japanese we have a reserve who could make an invaluable contribution as citizens to the development of Canada. At present, these same educated young people are turning to communism because they cannot in many cases find jobs commensurate with their skills and training. If we need proof of their ability to fit into our way of life, we need only look at the valuable and loyal contribution being made by Canadians of Japanese descent. Humanitarianism and self-interest alike demand our urgent attention to the problem.

During the post-war occupation almost every phase of Japanese life felt the hand of reform—the role of the Emperor, government, the armed forces, the police, the judiciary, education, economic patterns, industrial relations, and the role of women. Though circumstances have altered the nature and extent of many of the proposed changes, the process has continued, with readjustments, since the restoration of sovereignty in 1951. Whatever the end result, it will be distinctly Japanese but very different from the pre-war pattern. In this the reforms have been successful.

In the last year there has been a realignment of political forces. The conservative government of Mr. Kishi is a union of the former Democratic and Liberal Parties. Some of its members were associated with the pre-war era, a source of concern to those who fear a return of old ways. In general, the government's foreign policy is pro-western, while at the same time reasserting national sovereignty. Trade with mainland China is also likely to increase. Japan will assume a more active role in world affairs now that she has become a member of the United Nations.

A number of political difficulties face the government. The problems of the northern islands occupied by Russia, and the prisoners-of-war still held in Russia remain unsettled. The permanent occupation of Okinawa as a United States military base provides a ready "grievance" for those who would stir political unrest. The new constitution contains a section forbidding resort to armed force and war. World events have changed and there is need for Japan to have armed forces of sufficient size and strength to defend herself. The government seeks to alter the constitution to permit larger defence forces, but lacks sufficient popular and Diet support to do so. Many Japanese and outsiders fear a resurgence of militarist power, with a return to internal oppression as well as external aggression. Above all, the Japanese want no part of war, especially a nuclear war, for they know its meaning. The desire on all levels of society for the control of nuclear testing and for a peaceful world is a genuine one, almost fanatic in its intensity. It is, perhaps, best symbolized by the simple but sincere inscription on the memorial in the heart of Hiroshima.

"Rest in peace. We will never repeat this error."

By "we" they mean themselves as well as others.

The Socialist Party is a recent union of left and right wing groups. Generally speaking, it opposes proposals to alter the constitution and favours a foreign policy not unlike that of India, including diplomatic and trade relations with communist countries, and the withdrawal of the American forces. Among labour, intellectuals, and students, the socialists have a considerable following.

The Communist Party has had a checkered career since the war. At one time it fomented serious riots, though most of those rioting were not communists. This policy was not too successful and present policy seems to be to embarrass, wherever possible, without engaging directly in violence as a party. Careful advantage is taken of local grievances, such as proposed airfield extensions. At one time communists dominated the leadership of many of the labour unions, teachers' groups, and student organizations. Today this control is less apparent; many believe this to be simply an alteration in strategy and not a real loss of power. Communist propaganda is widespread in both subtle and direct forms. It is aimed at the young, teachers, and industrial workers, in particular. The communists are appealing with the utmost skill to the fears, idealism, national pride, and insecurity of the people. All too often they are successful in gaining sympathy for communism and in promoting false beliefs and distrust of the democratic world. Thus, many are unable to believe the evils perpetrated in communist lands and to believe the truth about the western world even when it is demonstrated to them. Though relatively few in actual numbers, the communists are well-organized and potentially have a large following among left socialists and other sympathizers.

Democratic ideas have made headway in Japan but all too often this has been less because of our efforts to demonstrate their truth than because the Japanese are sensitive to their inherent worth. Canada holds a unique position of respect and trust in Asia. It is our opportunity, indeed our urgent duty, to assume a more active role in interpreting western aims to Asia and, in turn, to interpret Asian aims to our western partners. In particular, we must strive to find an answer for nuclear weapon control commensurate with defensive security.

There is need for a growing number of people who understand and appreciate the culture of other lands. An interchange of teachers, students, and others is one way to gain such informed people. Success requires careful planning. Participants should be adaptable and observant as well as intellectually qualified. There must be opportunities to learn the history and culture, to see a cross-section of life, to live in homes, and to work beside their hosts. Haphazard arrangements result only in misunderstanding and often in bitterness.

How have all the factors in the past and present combined to affect the world of the young Japanese?

Economic and population pressures have resulted in a degree of competition in all phases of life totally unknown in this country. Hence, there is a drive for higher education with the resultant better opportunities. This, in

a country with compulsory primary and secondary education, has produced large numbers of high school graduates desiring further education or training. Only about one-third of those who seek such opportunities gain entry and in professional and technical courses the ratio may be 1:40. Even so, universities and technical institutions are crowded to capacity with more than 600,000 students. Young people from rural or labouring homes stand little chance of higher education unless they win scholarship assistance or can obtain part-time employment. Inadequate diet, tuberculosis, and mental breakdown are not uncommon.

On graduation the competition for jobs is acute. To-day only about half have employment on graduation.[1] The picture would be serious indeed except that many take jobs below their degree of training and others are absorbed for a time by the family farm or business. Women graduates return to the home. It is little wonder that extreme political philosophies have great appeal when insecurity is so great. A minor economic or social fluctuation could readily change a moderate youth into a militant Marxist.

The views of young Japanese on most questions largely reflect, though more vocally, those of the people in general. Everywhere one senses a striving to build a peaceful, respected, and more secure Japan. But agreement on the means to this end is far from unanimous. The young are jealous of their new-found freedom to think and to act, a reaction whose extreme forms are a source of concern to their parents. Only the future will tell how wisely this freedom is to be used.

But there is a deeper and more crucial problem in the lives of the youth of Japan. Defeat is never easy for a people. It is especially devastating in effect for a people with a sense of mission. For the Japanese surrender meant not only national defeat but religious defeat as well, so closely had religion and national policy been intertwined. Even the most hallowed principles and concepts have been subjected to scrutiny. Whereas their parents can retain faith in the tenets of Buddhism and Shintoism, for many of the younger generation faith has become purely the observance of custom. As a standard for judgment and action it has been lost. The creed, "I believe in myself," is typical of many. At best it is a tenuous belief. In time of crisis it brings disaster upon its believer, faced with his own inadequacy.

Into the vacuum in belief has poured a welter of ideas to compete for the allegiance of mind and heart. Materialism, communism, new syncretic religions, esoteric beliefs, existentialism, and Christianity are competing with vigorous counter-reformations within Shintoism and Buddhism.

Christianity as a faith is a minority religion but its ethical influence is wide. Many are ready to incorporate the Christian ethic into their general scheme of belief. Fewer are prepared to take the further step of accepting Jesus Christ as Lord and Master of their lives. Acceptance of any religion which is a dynamic for all of life is not easy for the Japanese after the recent wartime disillusionment with a religion which dictated every thought and action.

As in the West, materialism in different guises is a serious obstacle to more than intellectual acceptance. We owe an incalculable debt of gratitude for the dedicated witness of Christian missionaries but we seriously need to examine the other and often more glittering pictures of life which our society presents. It is difficult to expect the Japanese to accept the totality of Christianity while much of the professed Christian world pays only lip service.

There is, however, a more basic obstacle facing the prospective Christian. Christianity challenges traditional beliefs, modes of thought, and social concepts to an extent not found where society is based on the Greco-Christian tradition. The personal core of Christianity, the concept of the unique relationship of God to man as revealed in Jesus Christ, is not easy to understand or accept for one with a different philosophic heritage.

Despite these formidable difficulties, the Church in Japan is moving forward. One is struck by the high proportion within its ranks of the young and the educated for whom the influences of the past are less binding. Even more revealing is their reason for acceptance of Christianity. It is the realization that only the redeeming love of God in Jesus Christ provides an answer to their inner doubts and fears. Only when life has been transformed can the Christian ethic and social gospel attain their full meaning. This is the message of faith which must be made a living reality for others, especially those in rural and industrial areas.

Thus, the world of the youth of Japan is a composite of past influences, present experience, and the hopes that may be. It is an exciting and bewildering world but one that desperately seeks answers. Sooner or later it will find them. What they will be is our challenge as well as that of Japan.

There is real hope, a hope seen in the words of a student whose parents died in the atomic holocaust that sounded the knell of the old Japan.

"At first I felt only hate, hate against all mankind that it could have brought itself to this. I lost faith that there was anything good or decent in life. A technical field requiring minimal contact with my fellows offered the only means of hiding my despair. In the distress and intellectual ferment of the years of rebuilding I came to realize that such action on my part and that of my fellows would only perpetuate the conditions in men's hearts and actions which lead to war. It was my duty and that of young people in every land to do what we could to make peace and brotherhood a reality. I'm seeking a way with love, not hate, in my heart."

1. From a report by Mr. K. Nishida, Ministry of Education, to the World University Service International Seminar in Japan, August, 1955.

Covenant Theology - A Re-evaluation*

JOSEPH C. McLELLAND

AMONG the forces that have shaped the pattern of historical theology and have brought us to this ecumenical hour is one that is both strong and persistent, one that is aptly summed up in the term "covenant-theology." By this we mean not only the classic Federal Theology of orthodox Calvinism but also that type of biblical theology which sees in the doctrine of the covenant its unifying principle of interpretation. This Covenant Theology demands re-examination today partly because of its historical place in Reformed theology, and partly because it poses the deepest questions for "practical theology." To speak of the doctrine of the covenant, for instance, is to speak of the extent of the atonement, the effectual use of the means of grace, and the nature of evangelism. Perhaps such re-examination is especially demanded by the very fact that our modern theology sees little or no tension at these points. Let us present a brief study of the idea of covenant in historical theology, and then offer a possible solution to the problems raised by our historical investigation.

Biblical research confirms the insight of the Early Church in naming the two parts of its Scriptures "covenants" (*testamenta*). For the fundamental motif of the Scriptures is best summed up in the concept of *berith* (*diathēkē* in LXX and N.T.). The covenant of Horeb-Sinai is the foundation of Judaism, whose knowledge of God and service of God derive from and are judged by that historical act of grace. Thus the Ten Words of covenant were housed in "the ark of berith-Yahweh" (Deut. 10:8) as the foundation underlying the mercy-place. The other covenants, in the Book of Genesis, probably are best regarded in relation to the Mosaic pact—Adam's is its absolutizing (Gen. 2:16f), Noah's is its universalizing (Gen. 9:16), while Abraham's is essentially of the same kind, its evangelical precursor (Gen. 17).

The Hebrews were a covenant-people because theirs was a covenant-making God. This is evident from a study of the "distinctive ideas" of the Old Testament such as Snaith has given us. Consider the two primary words *chesed* and *'ahabah*: "*'Ahabah* is the cause of the covenant: *chesed* is the means of its continuance. Thus *'ahabah* is God's Election-Love, whilst *chesed* is His Covenant-Love."[1]

The term *chesed* becomes the distinctive Divine attribute of Hebrew theology, God's faithfulness or "leal-love" (G. A. Smith), although we may feel that the complementary term *chen* (the condescending love of a superior

*The substance of this article was given in the form of a Paper read to the Trinitarian Theological Society, Toronto, on April 3, 1956.

1. N. Snaith, *The Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament* (Epworth, 1944), p. 95.

for an inferior) is necessary to express the true nature of the Divine grace. Yet the clue to the Old Testament history is the covenant, and therefore "the whole secret of God's continued mercy towards Israel was that they were the people of His choice. Israel ultimately depended upon the Covenant, and her hope of salvation was in God's persistent covenant-love."[2] The temptation to legalism is strong here, and the prophets struggled against it, reaching at last the doctrine of a New Covenant which is truly "the New Testament latent in the Old."

It would seem that Eichrodt's stress on the idea of the Covenant in his *Theologie des alten Testaments* is a valid one: Yahweh is a God who initiates covenants, a *Bundesgott*, and His people are the *Bundesvolk*. But if this is a true and fruitful interpretation of the Old Testament, it is a sad commentary on the Church (on its "hellenization"?) that it virtually lost the doctrine of the covenant, except in terms of an Augustinian predestination. This twist in the association of the covenant-idea shaped the pattern of historical theology so that the doctrine of grace became a question of ecclesiastical authority and ordinance rather than of the Divine activity of seeking and saving. The Schoolmen could write at length about the Divine attributes, but the relationship to the quality of *chesed* is difficult to ascertain. Even the Angelic Doctor's treatment of predestination, for all its merit, fails to notice the evangelical tension in the whole matter (*S. Theol.* Ia, Q. 23). This pattern obtains until the Reformers break through the scholastic method with a renewed understanding of the mighty acts of God in Jesus Christ. Thus Calvin's *Institutes* accepts the approach of the Apostles' Creed rather than the traditional *summae* or *loci*.

Calvin's understanding of the significance of Covenant may be summed up in three references. First, Calvin accepts the concept of covenant as expressing the way God deals with men: "All those persons, from the beginning of the world, whom God has adopted into the society of his people, have been federally connected with him (*fuisse ei foederatos*) by the same law and the same doctrine which are in force among us" (*Inst.* 2.10.1). Second, as this same passage makes clear, his chief concern is to illustrate the *substantial identity* of the old and new covenants: "The covenant of all the fathers is so far from differing substantially from ours, that it is the very same; it only varies in the administration" (*Inst.* 2.10.1). In terms of its substance and reality (*substantia et re ipsa*) the Old Testament is one with the New, for the substance and reality of both Covenants is Jesus Christ. Hence the identity in content of the sacraments of both Testaments, inasmuch as the sacrament is both sign *and seal* (effective as well as cognitive) of the covenanted grace: "By the figure metonymy, the name of covenant is transferred to circumcision, which is so conjoined with the word, that it could not be separated from it" (*Comm. on Gen.* 17:9).

The third reference unfortunately became central in subsequent Calvin-

2. *Ibid.*, p. 129.

ism. This is Calvin's relating the "principle of the gracious covenant" to a supralapsarian scheme of double predestination (*Inst.* 3.21.5). That is, he understands the Divine activity of covenant-making only as derivative from the Divine activity of decree-making. The latter has priority, and atonement is subordinately related to its secret mystery. Yet even here we catch a glimpse of that other strain which informs all his thought, and which itself gives the tension and the dynamic to his theology. I mean his doctrine of faith as *union with Christ*:

> In order to maintain the efficacy and stability of election, it is necessary to ascend to the head, in whom their heavenly Father has bound his elect to each other, and united them to himself by an indissoluble bond. Thus the adoption of the family of Abraham displayed the favour of God, which he denied to others; but in the members of Christ there is a conspicuous exhibition of the superior efficacy of grace; because, being united to their head, they never fail of salvation [*Inst.* 3.21.7].

To this doctrine we shall return later.

The subsequent Calvinism concentrated on the third reference to the detriment of the first two (e.g. Beza's supralapsarian system) so that a reaction was almost inevitable, and James Arminius bowed to the will of history. The resulting Calvinist-Arminian debate, as underlined by the Synod of Dort, indicates the inner connection between election and atonement in these terms: conditional election means universal atonement, while double predestination implies limited atonement. Thus simplified and hardened, it is little wonder that Protestant Church history becomes the story of a new scholasticism. One interesting attempt to break the deadlock was made by the French school of Saumur, whose impetus came (of course!) from a Scot, John Cameron, but whose pupil and successor, Amyraut, is the chief representative. He taught a doctrine of "hypothetic universal grace," in which the decree of atonement precedes the decree of election, and the reason why the inward light of grace is given to some and not to others remains a mystery, without having to declare the latter to be predestinated to unbelief (a theory much like the later New England theology). Amyraut won his case, proving that he was not speaking contrary to the canons of Dort. Against the Saumur school such men as Turretin and Wetstein sounded the old refrain of the *decretum horribile* (which Turretin varied by asserting the inspiration of the Hebrew O.T. vowel points!). Thus did Calvinism march on from strength to strength, secure in the knowledge that predestination was the first principle of Reformed theology, and that the question of the relation of the Cross of Jesus Christ to sinful men was strictly derivative from the prior question of the details of the covenant made between the Father and the Son before the dawn of creation.

In the light of this development, the Federal Theology appears as a more hopeful sign, although it is basically the child of this debate. The classic utterance of the new system is the *Summa Doctrinae de Foedere et Testamento Dei* (1648) of Johannes Cocceius of Leyden. The basic desire is to

interpret history in terms of the nature of the covenant operative at particular times: "Man who comes upon the stage of the world with the image of God, exists under a law and a covenant, and that a covenant of works."[3] The second covenant, of Grace, which succeeded after the Fall, is divided by Cocceius according to "a twofold economy," the first "in expectation of Christ," and the second "in faith in Christ revealed." Some theologians made a different analysis, distinguishing a threefold administration of one covenant of grace, from the Protevangelium in Paradise to Moses, the Mosaic law, and the N.T. Gospel. But in general this was rejected, and even those who further subdivided the economy of grace (e.g., Wolleb) make clear that the one ordinance of Christ Jesus operates throughout.

Perhaps the most significant historical aspect of the Federal Theology is its acceptance by the Westminster Assembly. The basic idea of covenant had become part of the life of Scotland as early as 1556, when members of the struggling Reformed Church entered into a "Band" at Dun, vowing to "refuse all society with idolatry." The following year at Edinburgh "ane Godlie Band" was established.[4] Yet the Federal Theology as such seems to have been fully developed in Britain, at least by 1645 when John Ball wrote *A Treatise of the Covenant of Grace*, a book recommended by such Westminster divines as Calamy and Reynolds.[5] But apart from such external evidence, the Westminster Confession adopts the concept of two covenants, one of works and one of grace, with the latter differing in its parts only administratively (VII.5).

The Westminster Confession thus adopts as its frame of reference, its principle of Biblical interpretation, the full-orbed Federal Theology involving as its chief points the doctrines of double predestination, limited atonement, covenants of works and of grace, and imputed justification. Its teaching on those points of doctrine which have relevance to evangelism, such as Effectual Calling, is necessarily shaped by this frame of reference. The problem evident at these points received attention historically in the development of American Calvinism. The New England Theology sought to retain the distinctive principle of the sovereignty of God, while also working out homiletic methods of approaching sinners according to the theory that "God has opened a door for all to be saved conditionally" (Bellamy). This school discussed at great length such moot questions as whether one should urge the unregenerate to pray for conversion, and whether the imputation of sin by virtue of the representative nature of Adam is mediate or immediate. In general, the New England Theology moved away from the extreme (supralapsarian) position of Jonathan Edwards himself. And in reaction to its development the Hodges of Princeton declared exhaustively the old Calvinism. Charles Hodge accepts the

3. Quoted in Heppe, *Reformed Dogmatics* (English translation by G. T. Thomson, Edinburgh, 1950), p. 281.
4. J. Kerr, *The Covenants and the Covenanters* (Glasgow, 1895), p. 12.
5. Cf. Fisher, *History of Christian Doctrine* (Scribners, 1896), p. 348 footnote, for this question.

Federal Theology at its basic point: "The Nature of the covenant, therefore, determines the object of his death,"[6] yet in the growing doctrine of "common grace" he indicates one way of solving the evangelical tension of scholastic Calvinism: "It will of course be admitted that, if efficacious grace is the exercise of almighty power it is irresistible. That common grace, or that influence of the Spirit which is granted more or less to all men is often effectually resisted, is of course admitted."[7]

Finally, what of the contemporary attitude towards the Federal Theology? There would seem to be three main attitudes, the teaching of the Westminster Seminary approaching most closely to the traditional system.[8] In the impressive theology of Dutch theologians, however, we see a more critical attitude. Bavinck, for instance, resolves the tension between supra- and infra-lapsarianism inasmuch as the Divine decree is "a system the several elements of which are coordinately related to one another."[9] Karl Barth, finally, seeks a re-orientation of the problem of predestination, and a more personal and dynamic approach to the problem of atonement.[10] It is also significant to consider his appraisal of the Federal Theology, as given incidentally in a comment on the historical theology of Heinrich Heppe:

> On Heppe's historical outlook we should note that according to him, wonderful to relate, not Calvin but the later Melanchthon must have been the Father of Reformed theology. And he has paid his tribute to the spirit of the nineteenth century, in that for him the incursion of the covenant-theology of Cocceius and his pupils, proclaimed alongside of Cartesianism, into the line of the older expositors of Reformed dogma seems not to involve any deeper problem; so that we ask in vain how it came about, that, in this particular, Reformed orthodoxy in the eighteenth century can be so marvellously and painlessly "intellectual", i.e., pietistically rationalist.[11]

Here Barth indicates the confusion in our historical attitude: we have approached the Reformers through the orthodoxy of their successors, and have failed to notice the basic disagreement between the two, from dynamic to static and from Biblical to philosophical theology. Why should it be taken for granted that Calvin's theology begins with the doctrine of predestination? Because of the caricature so systematically and skilfully drawn for us by the orthodox Calvinism. Yet this orthodoxy failed to assess Calvin aright, failed to balance his Augustinian concept of grace (which emphasis is not necessarily supralapsarian, we should add) with that which informed his doctrines of justification, sacrament and predestination too—that faith means union with Christ. The final sign of the caricature is the fact that Charles Hodge interprets our relation to Christ as "a federal union,"[12] and

6. *Systematic Theology* (Nelson, 1873), Vol. II, p. 546.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 687.
8. E.g. L. Boettner, *The Reformed Doctrine of Predestination* (Eerdmans, 1932).
9. H. Bavinck, *The Doctrine of God* (English translation by W. Hendriksen, Eerdmans, 1951), p. 383.
10. E.g. *Kirchliche Dogmatik*, II/2 and III/2.
11. Heppe, op. cit., p. vii.

draws a close parallel between the representative role of Adam and of Christ. But it is highly questionable whether this is a fair reading of Paul's central concept of being *en Christo*; and the relation between Adam and Christ according to Paul (e.g. *Romans* 5:12ff, *I Cor.* 15:21ff) is not sufficiently homologous to bear the interpretation which the Federal Theology assumes.

The critical question for the Federal Theology was the effective use of the means of grace: how was the Minister of the Word and Sacraments to offer God's grace, and how was the repentant sinner to receive it? This is the question for which Protestant orthodoxy could find no adequate answer in its covenantal interpretation of Reformed theology. And this is precisely the question to which the doctrine of union with Christ provides the positive answer. Calvin, in company with Peter Martyr (and Martin Bucer), had stressed the dynamic communication of the new humanity of the Ascended Lord as the content of faith, given through the means of grace committed to the Church.[13] This union with Christ was to be discerned on three levels. First was a general or absolute union by the Incarnation, which affords the theological basis for anthropology and ethics, since in this prior sense every man *as man* bears the image of God (cf. *Inst.* 3.7.6). The second kind of union is effected by the Holy Spirit, who unites us to Jesus Christ in justification and new life: "For no other way are we reconciled to God by the sacrifice of His death, except that He is ours and we are one with Him," writes Calvin to Martyr. The third union is the result of this justifying grace, by which the Spirit communicates the properties of Christ's new humanity, which is perfected in us by Resurrection alone.

The question of whether justification is imputed or imparted, it may be observed, does not arise for the Reformers, but only for a more scholastic generation. Barth puts the case thus:

> In emphasizing this more than mystical and more than speculative statement, that faith means unity with the thing believed in, i.e. with Jesus Christ, Calvin did not in the least lag behind Luther, or either of them behind an Augustine, an Anselm, a Bernard of Clairvaux. Without this statement the Reformed doctrine of justification and faith is impossible to understand.[14]

When we grasp this basic orientation of justifying faith in the Reformed theology, we take a decisive step away from the bent of the Federal system and towards a more positive understanding of the means of grace and the task of evangelism.

Let us be quite clear that the Reformed theology is first and last a theology of the Holy Spirit. He is the answer to the problem of the effectiveness of Scripture, Sacrament and Church. He quickens men by His use of creaturely means, so that we "lift up the heart" to that communion with Jesus Christ which is our life. In the office of the Holy Spirit, therefore, we have the

12. Op. cit., p. 551.
13. Cf. Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Epistolae* (*Loc. Comm.*, 1576, pp. 1094ff.); *Ioan. Calv. Epist. et Resp.*, Ep. 208.
14. *The Doctrine of the Word of God* (Clark, 1936), p. 274.

context in which we are called to seek today's answer for today's problem of communicating the Gospel and evangelizing the world. No doubt a sign that the Spirit uses every theology is the fact that the Federal theologians did not argue from their doctrine of limited atonement to one of limited evangelism! Nevertheless our task today is to seek a more Scriptural norm for the doctrine of the covenant. Scripture is less concerned about questions of decrees and limits than about the question of the People of God and its responsibility as His Servant in and to the world. The Covenant means a covenanted people (*laos*), a Laity, the "ordinary" means of God's gracious activity towards His world. The doctrine of the Laity demands that we think again about our dichotomy of clergy/laity, and our restriction of the term "evangelist." Finally, in this People's history and destiny we have the true meaning of "covenant theology," namely the mystery of that Divine-human Body which ministers to its generation the grace of God, even Jesus Christ the Head of His Body, the King of His People.

Book Reviews

Separated unto the Gospel. By W. W. Bryden. Toronto: The Thorn Press. 1956. Pp. 218. $3.00.

This book contains papers and addresses given on various occasions by Professor Bryden, late Principal of Knox College, Toronto. They have been selected and edited by Dr. Donald Wade and other members of the Knox College staff. Their reappearance in this volume will be welcomed by former students and colleagues of Dr. Bryden and by the body of members of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. But this will not be the limit of the book's appeal, since many of its themes are of general and central Christian import; they are couched, moreover, in a clear and trenchant style well suited to the interest of every type of thoughtful reader.

Dr. Bryden surveys historical and contemporary theology with a sensitive and discerning mind which enables him not only to grasp current trends in theology but to provide a just interpretation of them for those who lack his first-hand knowledge. Few Canadians have been his equal in assessing the purport and significance for the Church's life of recent developments in continental theology. But, as he once said to the present reviewer, he was "no man's man;" welcoming the work of European theologians in stirring and enlightening the Church's zeal for the essentials of belief, his transmission of their thought passes through the prism of his own constructive rendering of the principles common to him and them.

Some of the papers in this book were prepared for college gatherings or for sessions of the Presbyterian Assembly. This gives them a directness that adds to their interest, but along with this a time-setting. One finds in them "dated" allusions, to events of the second world war, to Canadian conditions and prospects as they then appeared. But this does not make these chapters themselves "dated," as one reviewer has charged, any more than the Bible is "dated" by the contemporary references that abound in it. With hallmarks of its time, it is the "cradle" of truth for all time. So in our instance: history has moved swiftly to the effect that some of Dr. Bryden's paragraphs would not now be written just as he wrote them, but it has not essentially damaged the pertinence of what he says. He can be accused of contemporaneity, but not of the kind that in addressing the Divine Word to the time slips down to canvass the time for supports and sanctions of it.

Thus our author is the theologian of the enduring Word; but he is not this alone. He knows the Word of God to be equally for the preacher and the evangelist. Urged by impassioned certainty of the vital unity of doctrine and the Church's life and work, he writes incisively on such subjects as the Church and the World, the Church and the Economic Order, Chris-

tianity and the Religions. His rebukes spare little, least of all the Church's pusillanimity and the worldliness of her norms for her progress and success. His chapter on "Christianity and the Religions" is a challenge to our new syncretists to ask again whether the best that can be said for Christianity is that it embodies more purely than other faiths the truth common to them.

A criticism of this book could be that its writer is needlessly the Presbyterian. One does not need to be a Presbyterian to accompany him through the section on "The Presbyterian Conception of the Word of God." Any who are of the Reformed evangelical belief could do this, save for a possible stumble at some of his judgments on Liberalism. One can grant that both Fundamentalism and Liberalism are rationalizings of faith, and that much of the present turning to mysticism in the intellectual world marks "the desperation of Rationalism in its religious pursuits" (p. 217). But in tracing the course of Liberalism (p. 20) our author is hardly just either to its causes or to its objectives. If it is true that the Gnostics in the early Church lost out in the record through our reports of them being mostly from their enemies: when we note how Liberals and Barthians currently portray each other we may hope the future is not storing up a similar fate for them.

Careless editing and proofreading have much to answer for in this book. Here a word has slipped in that is the antithesis of the one the author intended; there the substitution of one three-letter word for another changes a whole paragraph. The reader is little mollified in easily correcting these faults from the drift of the thought.

Our summary word is one of high praise of this book and of the decision of Dr. Bryden's literary executors to print and issue these articles and addresses. Ministers and teachers will greatly profit from them, for this reason added to the others given: As in his lifetime Dr. Bryden taught and trained ministers, so in these posthumous papers he speaks to them again in probing, in searching passages throughout the work, warning each one of the cost in discipline of mind and will of his realization of the Gospel as "my Gospel" through the Act of the Divine Other within his own soul.

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Cyril of Jerusalem and Nemesius of Emesa. Edited by William Telfer. The Library of Christian Classics, vol. IX. Philadelphia: Westminster Press (Toronto: Ryerson Press), 1955. Pp. 466. $5.00.

This latest addition to the Library of Christian Classics combines the expected with the novel. That the *Catechetical Lectures* of Cyril of Jerusalem should be included in this series was to be expected. However, the present volume also contains the treatise *On the nature of man* by Nemesius of Emesa. Accompanied by a handsomely full commentary, the publication of

this first translation into English, made directly from the Greek text, is an important occasion in patristic studies. Dr. Telfer's scholarship, widely known and respected for its range and sensitivity, has never been demonstrated to better effect, and we can only be grateful to the publishers that space was given to him for this most praiseworthy undertaking. Unfortunately, the price of generosity towards Nemesius was niggardliness in other sections of the volume: the Indexes are too brief to be of any real value; the Bibliography for both writers is reduced to less than two pages; the *Lectures* themselves are abridged, and while they are to be ascribed properly to John of Jerusalem, the five so-called mystagogical lectures on the sacraments are omitted.

Yet such defects can in no wise detract from the excellence of Telfer's introduction to the *Lectures*. Of particular merit is his reconstruction of the history of the Church of Jerusalem, with his emphasis on the continuity in the transmission of Christianity in Jerusalem from the days of the apostles to the reign of Constantine. Also there is his fascinating account of the architectural developments at the shrines during the fourth century as a result of both Constantine's desire to promote Jerusalem as a centre of Christian unity and the activities of the empress Helena, history's most successful and exalted archaeologist. All in all, his introduction is an admirable framework for these lectures which, for all their explicitly theological content, are noteworthy for their directness and simplicity, and for their avoidance of theological jargon: e.g., "For sin does burn. The sinews of the soul are severed, and the invisible bones of the mind are broken, and sin darkens the light that shines in the heart" (Lecture II, 1). While Cyril shows himself piously intent upon the exaltation of his church, he is still more concerned to render his people devout and upright before the Lord. Astute in the ways of the world and so thoroughly orthodox (*pace* Jerome) in matters of the Faith as to weather the storms brewed in the Eastern Church by the Arian controversy, Cyril is the perfect mirror of that theological tradition in the pre-Nicene church which rejected Arius and yet showed itself reluctant to accept the new theology of the creed of Nicaea. A less happy element is revealed in the letter from Cyril to the emperor Constantius, included in this volume. Here the superstition which we rather inaccurately call "Caesaropapism" is only too apparent.

As for Nemesius, bishop of Emesa, the modern Homs, his treatise *On the nature of man* reveals his extensive knowledge of medical science and above all his understanding of contemporary secular viewpoints. And it is this understanding which is the enduring merit of this most skilful apology for Christianity, in which a close discussion of the problem of soul and body leads to the construction of a Christian anthropology of the neo-Platonist type and then to a defence of the reality of the freedom of the will within the designs of Divine Providence. It goes without saying that this emphasis commentators to tar Nemesius with the brush of Pelagianism. In the same on human freedom, so characteristic of all apologists, encouraged the older spirit of *odium theologicum*, the modern "Biblical" theologian, who thinks

that supernatural revelation will ever prove a substitute for metaphysical thinking, will find little in Nemesius of interest except by way of proving his pet theory with regard to the fundamentally "subversive" or "idolatrous" character of Christian apologetics ("Anxiety concerning the victory of the Gospel" etc.). However, there remain those who would preserve in our day the conviction of those spiritual children of Origen who, while quite ready to communicate with the unbeliever from the very centre of the revealed *kerygma*, did not at the same time refuse to establish some point of intellectual contact with him which might serve to assist, clarify and even to recommend the wisdom of God. For these, at least, this brief treatise with its superb commentary will furnish much food for thought.

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The Protestant Way. By Kenneth Hamilton. London: Epworth Press, 1956. Pp. 264, 21*s*.

After over four hundred years of Protestant thought and influence, it seems strange that anyone should set out "to justify the claim that there is such a thing as a distinctive 'Protestant way'." However, when one considers the great diversity of denominations which describe themselves as "Protestant," it would seem to be a very fruitful study to see whether the word has a definite significance or whether it is entirely meaningless through use and misuse. The author intends his book to be *about* theology, not *of* theology, and he aims to evaluate theological positions from what he calls "a Protestant point of view."

Choosing Luther's method of dialogue, Mr. Hamilton's dialogue seems to be frequently more of an argument written in defence of Protestant subjectivity. Influenced by T. S. Eliot's statement that the way to find out what "democracy" is, is to have someone attack it, the author suggests that the meaning of the word "Protestant" can only be found in opposition to something else and for him the obvious something else is the word "Catholic." Being an Anglican, I find it impossible to accept this absolute distinction between Protestant and Catholic but I believe that the great reformers would also be unwilling to accept it. Surely it is a misleading oversimplification, to say the least, to state that Catholicism is concerned with objectivity while Protestantism is concerned with subjectivity, or to say that Catholicism is concerned with form while Protestantism is concerned with content. At any rate, the opposite of Catholic in the early Church was heretical and Protestantism in the best sense should not be associated with heresy.

In the first published volume of his Gifford Lectures, Leonard Hodgson notes the illogicality of those who draw Pelagian conclusions from anti-Pelagian premises. Having contrasted Protestant belief with Catholic objectivity, the author then goes on to deal not with Faith, but with Protestant

subjectivity in "The Protestant Doubt" and "The Freedom To Be Wrong." It would seem that man only needs to be saved from his objectivity, not his subjectivity. This is not to criticize the author alone but his work does reveal an inconsistency that exists in much of contemporary Protestant thought. The chapter entitled "Protestantism Under Judgment" is the best of the book but it is unfortunate that it did not come much earlier in order that the author might make it very clear that he was willing to criticize Protestant tradition as well as Catholic.

Perhaps the most valuable point of the book is the emphasis on a common dialogue in the quest for Christian unity. Surely it is only as theologians in a good spirit read works of theologians of different traditions that differences can be intelligently understood. It is a common fault of many Protestant theologians to criticize Catholic theology having read few, if any, works by Catholic theologians. The same is true of many Catholic theologians. Mr. Hamilton seems guilty of this himself. He has classed Anglicanism in a different category from strict Catholicism and yet all his criticisms of Catholicism are directed against a few works by Anglican theologians. No Roman Catholic theologian is quoted at any length. The Roman philosophers, Gilson and Maritain, along with Dr. E. L. Mascall are quoted as representative of Thomistic thought without any recognition of their concern to refute the more formal and rationalistic interpretations of Essentialist Cartesian Thomism. (It is significant that Gilson is very critical of the Thomism of Cajetan, one of the leaders of the Counter-Reformation.)

Finally, it is remarkable that a busy rural minister in this country should produce a work on theology at all, let alone present some interesting and original insights into the essence of Protestantism. This work will be particularly enjoyed by ministers of like mind and I feel that it may be very helpful to many of them.

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Anxiety and Faith; Toward Resolving Anxiety in the Christian Community. By CHAS. R. STINNETTE, JR. (Foreword by DAVID R. HUNTER.) Greenwich, Conn.: Seabury Press, 1955. Pp. ix, 209. $3.50.

THIS is one of an increasing number of publications on the Christian interpretation of the resolution of anxiety. Its thesis is that man alone cannot resolve anxiety. He needs community, above all the community represented by the Church which, in the case of the author, is the Episcopal Church.

Part I, "Man's Effort to Understand Anxiety," is mainly influenced by Freud, Horney and Fromm with limited attention to Kierkegaard. The loneliness of men in separation from God and their fellowmen can only find its answer in an emphasis on wholeness and community.

Part II, which has the general title "Anxiety and a Christian View of Man," is an analysis of the Christian interpretation of man which, as one

would expect, turns on the problem of sin. The author has some "good" things to say about sin, especially about its subtlety and corporate expression, but his treatment of guilt, even with his recognition of its objectivity, is weak.

Part III, which comprises half the book, is devoted to a discussion of how anxiety can be resolved in the Christian community. Consideration is first given to the possibility of reconciliation interpreted mainly as a problem of feeling (acceptance). Associated with it is the therapeutic value of fellowship, which is interpreted in the light of the author's sacramentarianism.

Assuming his intention of writing in clear, straightforward, non-technical terms, it is evident that this has been realized. Apart from the merit of the achievement, the attempt to say too many different things detracts from the value of the book.

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The Prayers of Kierkegaard. Edited and with a new interpretation of his life and thought by Perry D. LeFèvre. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press (University of Toronto Press), 1956. Pp. ix, 245. $3.50.

The editor says, "It is strange indeed how little attention scholars have given to the place of prayer in Kierkegaard's life and thought" (p. 196). Perhaps it is not quite so "strange" however, when one remembers that S.K. did not make any outward show of piety and that he was an extremely many-sided and paradoxical figure. Even though "strange" it is fortunate indeed that at long last, after just about every other method of analysing the "melancholy Dane" has been tried and found wanting, we should now turn to the only remaining key left, that of prayer. The other keys have not been altogether useless, but they have worked only on certain doors of the inner chambers of this truly labyrinthine personality. The master key is prayer and without it we are quite helpless in trying to know the fullness of this man's life and message.

Here we find ourselves at the very heart of Kierkegaard, and he is revealed as fundamentally a religious thinker. LeFèvre undoubtedly accomplishes his desire expressed in the Preface: "It has been my intention . . . to take the reader to the religious centre of Kierkegaard's existence" (p. vi). The purpose is really two-fold: (a) to demonstrate the "intimate way in which Kierkegaard's own prayer was fused with his understanding of Christian faith and life." (b) "To provide a rich resource of devotional result is a decidedly helpful and unique contribution to the Kierkegaardian material unknown to most contemporary Christians . . ." (p. vi). The literature.

The book is in two main parts. The first contains the prayers, arranged with reference to the Persons of the Trinity, and with special occasion prayers, and the second offers what is called in the sub-title a "new" inter-

pretation of S.K.'s life and thought. This latter part will be helpful to the beginner but much of the material has already been published in biographies and previous interpretations. The really valuable part is found in section four entitled "Man of Prayer." The text is adequately documented and provides also an up-to-date list of the works of Kierkegaard in English.

In these prayers we find the very essence of theological expression in its most pointed and true relationship, that of devotion. There is simplicity here, right at the place where theology *is* theology, in prayer before God! Theology is not primarily that which is thought out, or spoken about, rather it is prayed out—out of the human heart, in all its need, before and in the presence of the answering God.

This is not the devotion of escape. Here God's Presence is a relevant presence: "O God, there are in the outside world so many things which would turn us from Thee; that is why we enter into Thy house, but even here there is sometimes a misleading security, as if all danger and all terror were far away, here, where even the supreme danger is to be confronted: that of sin, and the supreme terror: the passion and the death of Christ" (p. 28).

Kierkegaard has been regarded as the great apostle of Transcendence and yet these prayers are filled with warmth, passion and tenderness, poured out not to a distant God so unique and different that He defies all knowing, but to One whose presence and proximity call forth language and imagery of a most vivid kind. "Our Father, be near to us with Thy power so that we may feel a joyous assurance of heart that Thou art not far from us, but that we live and move and have our being in Thee" (p. 53). ". . . grant also that when the Law speaks most strongly, when its seriousness fills us with dread, when the thunder booms from Sinai—Oh grant that we may hear also a gentle voice murmuring to us that we are Thy children, so that we will cry with joy, Abba, Father" (p. 37). "Give to Thy child freedom from discouragement in the vast world, freedom from discouragement when false leads seem so numerous and the right road so difficult to find . . . give then to Thy child the courage to remember and believe that as a father sends his child into the world, Thou hast also sent man down here, God of compassion!" (p. 41). "Father in Heaven! When the thought of Thee wakes in our hearts let it not awaken like a frightened bird that flies about in dismay, but like a child waking from its sleep with a heavenly smile" (p. 48). With all this intimacy Kierkegaard is, however, here most keenly aware of the boundaries of the human over against the Divine: "Teach me, O God, not to torture myself, not to make a martyr out of myself through stifling reflection, but rather teach me to breathe deeply in faith" (p. 36). "Grant us to feel that without Thee we can do nothing . . . a feeling not of cowardly dependence but a feeling of hopeful strength, in the happy assurance that Thou art powerful among the weak" (p. 56).

This book is a good antidote to the sterility, the emptiness, the formal wordiness of prayer. Here there is no nauseating repetition of worn clichés, run-of-the-mill shibboleths, rhetorical unction, nor that showerbath of plati-

tudes which may reveal the mind but not the heart. The words used are fresh, often startling, yet never giving the impression of forced innovation.

Prayer is indeed a gift, but like all the other things of grace, it is never detachable from the giver, nor is it to be made captive to the whim of the one upon whom it is bestowed. Kierkegaard knew this secret and guarded it carefully. A high and urgent sense of involvement, personal, inward, in the work and will of God permeates these prayers with the ethical implications of Christianity. Here is an existential awareness of the gospel of obedience. For example: "Teach us to walk before Thy face and grant that our thoughts and our acts may not be like strangers coming from afar for a rare visit to Thy dwelling place but rather like native sons they might perceive that Thou livest in us . . ." (p. 39). Again: ". . . Thou who art both the Pattern and the Redeemer, and again both the Redeemer and the Pattern, so that when the striver sinks under the Pattern, then the Redeemer raises him up again, but at the same instant Thou art the Pattern, to keep him continually striving . . . Yet Thou didst leave behind Thee the trace of Thy footsteps, Thou the holy pattern of the human race and of each individual in it, so that, saved by Thy redemption, they might every instant have confidence and boldness to will to strive to follow Thee" (p. 98). These prayers do something to the eager seeker. Their ministry is seminal. They indicate new and hidden pathways. They are marked by a kind of Scripture-centredness and yet the Scriptures are so used that the text is never a mere pretext for a spiritual soliloquy. Somehow the Scripture is unfolded in the very prayer, prayerfully.

Prayer, for Kierkegaard, is "unconditional surrender" (p. 208); indeed, he says that the only real prayer is that one might be enabled to pray (p. 202). "The immediate person thinks and imagines that when he prays, the important thing . . . is that *God should hear* what he *is praying* for. And yet in the true, eternal sense it is just the reverse; the true relation in prayer is not when God hears what is prayed for, but when *the person praying* continues to pray until he is *the one who hears*, who hears what God wills. The immediate person, therefore, uses many words and, therefore makes demands in his prayer; the true man of prayer only *attends*" (Journals, No. 572, quoted on pp. 213–14 by LeFèvre).

There is a vast difference between pagan and Christian prayer. The latter simply cannot be understood within the categories of immanence. It is derived from and related to forgiveness. As LeFèvre puts it: "The Christian can pray . . . because in Christ his sin stands forgiven" (p. 211). Surely more work has to be done by theologians on this point in distinguishing the unique nature of Christian prayer. If Christ is unique, let us carry through in all things with the implications of this uniqueness.

One or two slight errors have crept into the text, for example, the wrong date is given on p. 125 for Kierkegaard's death. It should read November 11th, 1855, and not November 18th. The volume of the book could have been considerably compressed, as each prayer is printed on a separate page

and often they are only a sentence or two in length. On the other hand this leaves room for the reader to inscribe his own personal notes or comments.

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Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz: Philosophical Papers and Letters. A selection translated and edited, with an Introduction by LEROY E. LOEMKER. 2 Vols. Chicago: University of Chicago Press (University of Toronto Press), 1956. Pp. x, viii, 1228. $12.00 per set.

LEIBNIZ'S dominating passion in all his intellectual and practical projects was unification. Yet, ironically, he left no single work or systematically organized set of works which presents in definitive form his philosophical thought. There is nothing which can be compared in this respect with Descartes' *Meditations,* Spinoza's *Ethics,* Hume's *Treatise* or Kant's three *Critiques.* Leibniz's thoughts on the most crucial points lie dispersed in hundreds of small treatises, letters and notes, covering subject matters as varied as the interests of his truly universal genius. Access to the mass of materials which he left behind—only a small portion having yet been published—has been very limited, and especially so for students without knowledge of all three of the languages in which he wrote, and who are dependent upon such selections as have appeared in English editions. Professor Loemker has now produced a two volume edition of Leibniz's "Philosophical Papers and Letters" embracing some twelve hundred pages of materials and notes, and seventy-one items. The importance of this event cannot be overstated, nor can the gratitude owing by those who have wanted ready access to so much more of Leibniz than has been up till now available.

Attention may appropriately be drawn here to those items bearing on religion, and in particular those which have to do with his ambitious scheme entitled *Catholic Demonstrations.* Leibniz had reintroduced the scholastic and discredited doctrine of substantial forms into his metaphysics. Not the least among the advantages he saw in this doctrine was its utility in healing the breach between the churches. Armed with substantial forms, Leibniz, a Protestant, intent upon the union of the churches, felt he could entertain some hope of showing the possibility of transubstantiation in such a way as to "satisfy the Catholics, and especially the Jesuits." It is characteristic of him that where such a practical project as the union of the churches is involved, the whole of his philosophical system is brought to bear on it. And, indeed, he was quite convinced that when his philosophy was adopted by all who possessed the crucial positions of ecclesiastical and political power, the divisions of the churches would disappear. In 1679 he wrote a letter to John Frederick, Duke of Brunswick-Hanover, to whom he looked for patronage in his project, outlining what was involved. He begins by explaining to this

Catholic Prince that he had frequently examined with Baron von Boineburg the controversial points of theology which divided the churches, and that they had come to the conclusion that it would be perfectly possible to accept completely the Council of Trent except for three or four passages, and these should cause no trouble, provided that Rome would agree to accept, as at least tolerable, the interpretations which he, Leibniz, would put upon them. These interpretations, of course, were the true ones, but they were in no way contrary to Catholic teachings and contained nothing heretical.

Once a declaration of approval for his interpretations had been obtained from Rome, Leibniz would proceed with the plan, *Catholic Demonstrations*. It is of great interest to note what Leibniz intended to include in this immense work, for it shows the kind of thing he thought capable not only of effecting the union of Christendom, but of spreading Christianity through the whole world in an absolutely irresistible fashion.

The work was to have three parts. The first would be devoted to natural theology and would include proofs for the existence of God and the immortality of the soul; "for," he confesses, "I did in fact have some surprising ones." The second part would be concerned with revealed religion, demonstrating the possibility, i.e. lack of contradiction, in the mysteries. The third part would treat of the Church, demonstrating the divine right of its hierarchy and the exact boundaries of secular and ecclesiastical power.

There is, perhaps, little in this part of his proposal to startle, but it would be unlike Leibniz to present a set of disconnected demonstrations in such important subjects. "These great demonstrations," as he called them, would have to be provided with a basis. Therefore they would be prefaced with nothing less than "the demonstrated elements of the true philosophy," and this would include a new logic, one capable of calculating probabilities, metaphysics, physics, ethics and politics, in other words, the preface would consist of an entire system of philosophy and the sciences.

It is then evident that for Leibniz it is simply *demonstration* which will effect the union of men and dissolve all their differences, no matter how passionate or violently these may be held. Did Leibniz entertain no doubts whatever about the power of demonstration? He had his hesitations, to be sure, but they were only over the possibility that people might be suspicious of *his* demonstrations, thinking them the work of a tyro. He is quick, however, in assuring the Duke that any doubts that the public may have about his skill in demonstrating will vanish when he publishes his discoveries in mathematics and mechanics. These will rank with those of Galileo and Descartes.

Nevertheless, in order to make his demonstrations absolutely incontestible he will produce his Universal Characteristic, which he describes as "undoubtedly one of the greatest projects to which men have ever set themselves." This logical instrument in which calculations are made with symbols instead of concepts, an art applicable indifferently to all subject matters,

and possessing the certitude of mathematics, would bring about the end of all dispute among men. When men differed they would only need to say, "Let us calculate." This Universal Characteristic "will become," he says, "the great method of discovering truths, establishing them, and teaching them irresistibly when they are established. Nothing could be proposed that would be more important for the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. When this language is once established among missionaries, it will spread at once around the world. It can be learned in several days by using it and will be of the greatest convenience in general intercourse. And, wherever it is received, there will be no difficulty in establishing the true religion which is always the most reasonable, and, in a word, everything which I shall develop in my work on *Catholic Demonstrations*. It will be as impossible to resist its sound reasoning as it is to argue against arithmetic. You can judge what advantageous changes will follow everywhere in piety and morals and, in short, in increasing the perfection of mankind. But, to achieve this end, I shall certainly need great assistance, and I see no better source for this than the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, which I mentioned above."

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Lessing's Theological Writings. Selections in translation with an Introductory Essay by Henry Chadwick. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1956. Pp. 110. $1.75.

In the English-speaking world Lessing—at least Lessing the theologian—is almost unknown. The casual reader of this volume may well feel that there is no particular reason why he should be known. The writings which the editor found important enough to be included in this collection add up to merely fifty odd pages; and their quality seems hardly less slight than their quantity. The casual reader is tempted to dismiss Lessing the theologian as just another representative of the Age of Enlightenment, with few if any original ideas (note, for example, his dependence on Leibniz).

But, at the very least, Lessing had a great gift for presentation. His theological writings—dramatic, vivacious, often devastatingly witty—exercised a most extraordinary influence, extending beyond his native Germany (note his influence on Coleridge). And this would be enough to make them of interest at least to historians of theology.

But to say this is not enough. Lessing was far more than a merely successful theological popularizer. A man who could influence decisively thinkers of the stature of Kant, Schelling and Kierkegaard can hardly have lacked profundity himself. Certainly Lessing was an Enlightenment rationalist. But he was neither naive nor shallow, though his simplicity of style is apt to deceive the superficial reader. On the contrary, his mind was of great

subtlety, ever aware of the complexity of problems, and always shrinking from all-too-simple solutions. (He was a foe of all traditional orthodoxies; but for the naive and shallow modernism of his time he had open contempt.) His ways of expressing this awareness included a deceptive (not to say mock) simplicity of style, a half-serious, half-jesting manner of asking (and answering) questions, and a way of letting questions hang in the air. All this was understood by no one better than Kierkegaard, who was of the opinion that fools (e.g., Hegel) walked in where angels (e.g., Lessing) feared to tread.

Consider Lessing's *Education of the Human Race*. You can consider it in half an hour, for it is an essay of barely fifteen pages. Your first reaction is that Lessing is just another "enlightened" debunker, who deals with revelation by getting rid of it. Since revelation can give nothing which human reason could not arrive at on its own it is indistinguishable from human discovery. But if you are more than a casual reader you soon have second thoughts. Lessing does say in at least one place that some of what revelation has given unaided human reason could not have acquired. Further, if revelation is identical with human discovery, why single out the Jewish-Christian *Heilsgeschichte*? Other cultures have made their own religious discoveries. Is revelation, though identical in content with the discoveries of religious reason, nevertheless a supernatural fact? Or is the belief that it is such a fact a useful—and for the unenlightened necessary—illusion?

Or consider Lessing's most famous theological essay, his *On the Proof of the Spirit and the Power*. Its doctrine seems simple enough: "accidental truths of history can never become the proof of necessary truths of reason." (In Kierkegaard's reformulation, one's eternal happiness cannot depend on the acceptance of supposed or actual facts in the past, such as the facts concerning the life of Christ.) The Christian can be bound, not by these facts, but only by Christ's teachings, and he is bound by these because they are intrinsically valid in the light of reason. In short, in good Enlightenment fashion "pure" Christianity is a religion of reason, and its historical elements serve at best for illustration only. But if this is Lessing's final view why does he complain (in words made famous by Kierkegaard): "That, then, is the ugly, broad ditch (i.e., between the historical and the eternal) which I cannot get across, however often and however earnestly I have tried to make the leap?" Kierkegaard agreed with Lessing (against Hegel) that there was a ditch, and that it required a leap. But if Lessing were a naive rationalist he would recognize no leap at all.

The above examples have made it clear, we hope, that Lessing deserves to be studied, not only by historians of theology, but also by theologians. Any student must be grateful to the editor of the present work, not only for making his most important writings available in English, but also for aiding his studies by his thorough and scholarly introduction.

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The Baptists in Upper and Lower Canada before 1820. By Stuart Ivison and Fred Rosser. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1956. Pp. ix, 193. $5.00.

This all-too-brief study of the beginning of the Baptist movement in Canada is a work of serious research and fills a long felt gap in the early religious history of this country. The birth of the American Republic in 1783 and the growth of political and religious liberty in this dynamic, young nation gave considerable impetus to the Baptist movement as it did also to other non-conforming religious groups in America. During this post-revolutionary period no fewer than six Baptist missionary associations in the United States sent preachers to evangelize "that dismal region of moral darkness" lying north of their border. Thus the records of these missionary associations are one of the most valuable sources for this study, as well as the journals of the itinerant Baptist preachers whose devoted labours are described in a series of short biographical sketches. As a result of this missionary effort we are told that there were at least eighteen ordained Baptist ministers who lived and worked in Upper and Lower Canada before 1820. A majority of these dedicated men were self taught and often supported themselves by farming or working at their trade. One, at least, was a theologian of distinction, Nathaniel Hendrick, D.D., who was associated for several years with a struggling college which afterwards became Colgate University.

Though a number of the founders of the Baptist movement in Canada were United Empire Loyalists or discharged soldiers, some of the later emigrants never gave up their radical political views and were strongly anti-British. A Baptist lay preacher, Elijah Bentley of Markham, was arrested in 1813 on the charge "that he had used seditious language in a sermon." His arrest and imprisonment was "a mortal blow" to the Baptist cause in that district and it did not come to life again for about twenty five years.

One wishes that the authors could have included more material illustrating the religious and social aspects of this early pioneer period. What were early Baptist "meeting houses" like? Did men and women sit on opposite sides of the building? This was a common practise in pioneer times and was not peculiar to the Quakers. Only a single descriptive item relating to these early meeting houses was discovered, and this was regarding the Charlotteville church, completed in 1809.

One gathers that Baptists were strict disciplinarians and that like the early Quakers they might disown one of their members who married outside the group. Only one instance of this was noted in connection with an elder of the Townshend Church who married for his second wife "an unbelieving character." No indication is given as to whether membership losses were very considerable by reason of this particular misdemeanour. But the strict enforcement of church discipline generally is borne out by the fact that though the Townshend church added thirteen new members in 1808, "twelve were excluded during the year." Elsewhere in the book the narrative is brought to life by a reminder that this is the story of a living movement

having to do with real people with all the frailties of human nature. As when a member of the Beamsville church "was more than once charged with being drunken in public, at which times he was given to taking off his shirt and offering to fight anyone who would accept this challenge."

The Baptist founders were very insistent on correct doctrine and evidently held a low opinion of Methodist Arminian tendencies and of their emotionalism. Elder Morse tells us that he only preached "sentimental sermons" as a last resort "when he judged his audience unable to follow a doctrinal discourse." By the same token, the Baptists felt themselves much closer to the Calvinistic doctrines and polity of the Presbyterians. Indeed on this ground, they claimed the right to solemnize marriages, since by the act of the Upper Canada legislature of 1798, Calvinists and Lutherans were named with ministers of the Church of Scotland as being authorized to perform this ceremony, while Methodists were excluded. Though discouraging emotionalism, early Baptist preachers must have generated in their converts, at least on occasion, a high degree of emotional warmth, as when the Rev. Elisha Andrews after accepting candidates for baptism numbering "thirty of all ages from 10 to 50 years . . . repaired to the Lake, cut a hole in the ice, and fifteen of these happy and devoted disciples were immersed."

There are three useful maps showing the location of all the Baptist churches in Upper and Lower Canada during the period under review, and there are also six full-page illustrations. Two of these are portraits of eminent missionaries, but the remaining four illustrations add little to the study. One would have wished, for example, that instead of reproducing a painting depicting "A buttonwood tree near Chatham," there might have been a picture of the Bayham church at Port Burwell, of which one of its early members, Samuel Edison, was the great grandfather of Thomas A. Edison, the famous inventor. Similarly, the Haldimand church erected in 1824 which still stands on Number 2 Highway at Wicklow—"probably the oldest Baptist church building in Ontario"—surely would have been of more intrest than a picture showing "A clearing in Upper Canada." There is an excellent index of all the place names and proper names occurring in the book, as well as a topical index. Altogether it is a valuable study, contributing to our understanding of a somewhat neglected period of Canadian history.

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Books Received

(Inclusion of title in this list neither ensures nor precludes subsequent review in this journal)

ADAMS, C. *The Prayer Book Pattern: A Consideration.* London: SPCK (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre), 1957. Pp. x, 178. $2.50.

ARNDT, W. F., and GINGRICH, F. W. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature.* A translation and adaptation of WALTER BAUER'S *Griechisch-Deutsch Woerterbuch zu den Schriften des N.T. u. der uebrigen urchistlichen Literatur.* (4th Revised and augm. ed., 1952). Chicago: University Press (University of Toronto Press), 1957. Pp. xxxvii, 909. $14.00.

BAILLIE, J. *The Idea of Revelation in Recent Thought.* New York: Columbia University Press (Toronto: Oxford University Press), 1956. Pp. viii, 151. $3.25.

BETTENSON, H. (editor and translator). *The Early Christian Fathers: A Selection from the Writings of the Fathers from St. Clement of Rome to St. Athanasius.* Oxford: University Press, 1956. Pp. vii, 423. $3.25.

CAIRD, G. B. *Principalities and Powers: A Study in Pauline Theology* (The Chancellor's Lectures for 1954 at Queen's Univ.). Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956. Pp. xi, 106. $2.25.

COBURN, J. B. *Prayer and Personal Religion.* Philadelphia: Westminster Press (Ryerson Press), 1957. Pp. 96. $1.00.

DART, J. L. C. *The Old Religion: An Examination into the Facts of the English Reformation.* London: SPCK (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre), 1956. Pp. xii, 210. $3.50.

DUBOIS, P. *The Recovery of the Holy Land.* Translated and with an Introduction by W. I. BRANDT. New York: Columbia University Press (Toronto: Oxford University Press), 1956. Pp. xvi, 251. $4.75.

EVANS, E. *Tertullian's Treatise on the Incarnation.* The text edited with an Introduction, translation, and commentary. London: SPCK (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre), 1956. Pp. xliii, 197. $6.50.

EVANS-PRITCHARD, E. E. *Nuer Religion.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956. Pp. xii, 336. $6.50.

FIFE, R. H. *The Revolt of Martin Luther.* New York: Columbia Univ. Press (Toronto: Oxford University Press), 1957. Pp. ix, 726. $10.50.

FORSYTH, N. F., editor. *The Minister and Christian Nurture.* New York, Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1957. Pp. 250. $3.50.

FOSBROKE, H. E. W. *By Means of Death.* Greenwich, Conn.: Seabury Press (Toronto: Oxford University Press), 1956. Pp. 93. $1.75.

FOSTER, M. B. *Mystery and Philosophy.* London: SCM (Toronto: Ryerson Press), 1957. Pp. 96. $2.50.

Fox, A. *Plato and the Christians.* Passages from the writings of Plato selected and translated with an Introduction. London: SCM (Toronto: Ryerson Press), 1957. Pp. 205. $4.25.

Gilmour, G. P. *A Handbook of the Gospels.* Hamilton: McMaster University, 1956. Pp. iv, 127. $1.75 (McMaster University Bookstore).

Gilmour, S. M. *The Gospel Jesus Preached.* Philadelphia: Westminster Press (Toronto: Ryerson Press), 1957. Pp. 238. $3.75.

Gilson, E. *The Christian Philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas.* Toronto: Random House, 1957. $8.00.

Gordon, E. *A Living Faith for Today.* New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1956. Pp. 255.

Grant, J. W. *Free Churchmanship in England 1870–1940, with special reference to Congregationalism.* London: Independent Press Ltd., n.d. Pp. vii, 424. 19/6.

Hill, C. *Economic Problems of the Church: from Archbishop Whitgift to the Long Parliament.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956. Pp. xiv, 367. $6.50.

Johnson, P. E. *Personality and Religion.* New York, Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1957. Pp. 297. $4.50.

Lowe, J. *Saint Peter.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1956. Pp. 65. $2.50.

McLelland, J. C. *The Visible Words of God: An Exposition of the Sacramental Theology of Peter Martyr Vermigli. A.D.1500–1562.* Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Co.), 1957. Pp. ix, 291. $4.25.

Moellering, R. L. *Modern War and the American Churches: A Factual Study of the Christian Conscience on Trial from 1939 to the Cold War Crisis of Today.* New York: American Press, 1956. Pp. 141. $2.75.

Otwell, J. H. *Ground to Stand On.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1957. Pp. ix, 232. $4.25.

Rawlinson, A. E. *Current Problems of the Church.* London: SPCK (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre), 1956. Pp. x, 83. 5*s*.

Roberts, D. E. *Existentialism and Religious Belief.* Edited by R. Hazelton. New York: Oxford University Press, 1957. Pp. viii, 344. $5.00.

Rowley, H. H. *The Faith of Israel: Aspects of Old Testament Thought.* London: SCM (Toronto: Ryerson Press), 1956. Pp. 220. $3.75.

Shergold, W. J. *A Devotional Commentary on the Bible,* with special reference to the Shorter Oxford Bible. New York: Oxford University Press, 1955. Pp. 284. $3.50.

Soper, D. W. *You Have Met Christ.* Philadelphia: Westminster Press (Toronto: Ryerson Press), 1957. Pp. 142. $2.50.

Toynbee, A. J. *A Study of History.* Abridgement of Vols. VII–X by D. C. Somervell. New York, London: Oxford University Press, 1957. Pp. xii, 414. $5.50.

TOULMIN, S., HEPBURN, R. W., and MACINTYRE, A. *Metaphysical Beliefs: Three Essays.* London: SCM (Toronto: Ryerson Press), 1957. Pp. 216. $5.00.

VISSER 'tHOOFT, W. A. *The Renewal of the Church.* London: SCM (Toronto: Ryerson Press), 1956. Pp. 128. $2.50.

ZAEHNER, R. C. *Mysticism Sacred and Profane: An Inquiry into some Varieties of Praeternatural Experience.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957. Pp. xviii, 256. $6.50.

New Books for Religious Leaders

The Holy Spirit in Christian Theology

By George S. Hendry, Professor of Systematic Theology, Princeton Theological Seminary. The author claims that the real core of many controversial issues is the implied doctrine of the Holy Spirit. He here considers doctrinal problems which have emerged recently. $2.50

Essays in Liberality

By Alec R. Vidler, Fellow and Dean of King's College, Cambridge. Dr. Vidler distinguishes between nineteenth-century Liberalism and "liberality" (with a small l), defining it as the opposite, "not of conservative, but of fanatical, or bigoted, or intransient." $3.00

Toward a Christian Philosophy of Higher Education

Edited by John Paul von Grueningen, Professor of German, Jamestown College, North Dakota. Presents as a single integrated study the substance of the thinking of principal speakers at the Jamestown Convocation, June, 1955. $3.50

The Faith of Israel

By H. H. Rowley, Professor of Hebrew Language and Literature, University of Manchester. The James Sprunt Lectures, delivered at Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia. A lucid survey of aspects of Old Testament thought. $3.75

The Renewal of the Church

By W. A. Visser 'T Hooft, General Secretary, the World Council of Churches. The Dale Lectures, delivered at Mansfield College, Oxford. A biblical, theological and historical reflection on the conditions in which a truly ecumenical movement can flourish. $2.50

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Editorial

CHRISTIANITY GOES TO PRESS

THE title of this editorial is also the title of a very interesting little book by Professor Edgar J. Goodspeed, which was published in 1940 by the Macmillan Company of New York. It reminds us of the significant place that *publication* has played in the history of the book, and especially in the history of Christian literature, from New Testament times on; and of the important part that has been played by book publication in the advancement of the church's mission. The church has always been a worshipping society, a singing society, a preaching and teaching society; it has also been in a truly astonishing degree a publishing society.

It is, of course, one thing to write a book, and another thing to get it published. Many ancient books, especially religious books, were never intended for publication. The Egyptian Book of the Dead, for instance, was written for the express purpose of being placed in tombs, for the guidance and help of the dead man in the world of the dead. Many liturgical texts were reserved for the priests who were charged with the due performance of the rites of religion, and could not be published without profanation. The laws were not published until a relatively late period in the development of societies, and the act of publication marked a radical change in the whole character of the society.

The earliest Christian writings were not books, but personal letters—the letters written by St. Paul to the churches which he had founded—and they were not intended for publication, but for reading aloud in the presence of the church to which each was addressed. It never occurred to the great apostle that the churches of Jerusalem or of Antioch would want to read his letters to the Thessalonians, much less that they would be translated into hundreds of languages and read and studied for nineteen centuries to come. But some time before the end of the first century, his letters were collected, and published as a collection, and widely circulated throughout the growing Christian communities of the Roman world. Publication gave them a wide and lasting influence on Christian life and thought, and made them instruments by which Paul continues to instruct and inspire the whole church of God to this day.

It is probable that the first Christian book ever to be published was the Gospel according to St. Mark. It was almost certainly put together about the year 70, and it is evident that it was published at once, and circulated as far as Syria and Palestine within a few years of its first publication. Like all ancient books, it was copied by hand, by skilful scribes, perhaps working in some great scriptorium where fifty copyists would take down the text as it was read to them. It is even possible that the copies were made not on

rolls, like the Jewish scriptures and most ancient books, but on books made of quires of folded sheets, leaf upon leaf; certainly the leaf-book, or *codex*, was invented by Christian scribes and was used for the publication of the Christian writings for many years before it was adopted by the publishers of classical literature. Before the end of the second century, the four gospels were being published together within the covers of a single book, as had already been done with the collected letters of St. Paul; and the time was not long until the whole New Testament, and then the entire Greek Bible—the Old Testament along with the New—would be published in the form of a single large book.

Nothing is known of these early Christian publishers who prepared the first editions of the New Testament writings. Their names have not been transmitted to us, and our knowledge of their activities and methods is derived wholly from the remnants of their publications which have survived and from what we know of the book trade in the first centuries of the Roman Empire. The first of the great Christian book publishers known to us is a certain Ambrose, a wealthy citizen of Alexandria in Egypt, who was converted to the catholic faith (from the sect of Valentinus) about A.D. 212, by the greatest theologian of the time—indeed, one of the greatest of all time—Origen. Out of his ample resources, Ambrose engaged a staff of writers to take down Origen's lectures in shorthand, and a large number of calligraphists to make copies for distribution. A few years later, Ambrose made a formal contract with Origen, who was now resident in Palestine, for the publication of his commentaries on the Scriptures. No ancient writer had ever enjoyed such facilities for the publishing of his works; and thanks to the zeal of his publisher, Origen contributed probably more than any other single person to the victory of Christianity over paganism.

The debt of the church to its publishers is no less great in the twentieth century than it was in those early times. Indeed, the printing press has made possible the multiplication of copies on a scale and at a price that could never have been imagined by the men of the ancient world, when every copy had to be made by hand—to say nothing of the fact that papyrus and parchment, the principal materials of ancient book-making, were infinitely more costly than our finest papers. To-day, the greatest publishing houses of the world are putting their resources at the disposal of the church, providing us with a limitless supply of Bibles, prayer books, and hymn books; and making available to all men everywhere the fruits of devotional meditation, of Biblical scholarship, of theological investigation and of all the manifold labours of administration, evangelism and pastoral care. By them the whole life of the church is enriched and its mission furthered; and not least, the unity of the church is promoted as the gifts of one are put at the service of all.

F. W. B.

The Meaning of the Susanna Story*

R. A. F. MacKENZIE, S.J.

HAVING occasion recently to give some lectures on the book of Daniel to theological students, I was drawn to study the Greek additions to that book, which, as part of the Apocrypha, are not usually treated by Protestant and Jewish commentators and exegetes. The Apocrypha, that is to say, have in general not benefitted much by the modern development of scientific theological exegesis, which has recovered, or disclosed to us, such a wealth of religious values in the Old Testament. Rejected as mere human inventions by most of the Protestant churches, relegated to a secondary position in the Anglican bible, acknowledged as fully canonical only by the Roman Catholic and Orthodox communions, the Apocrypha have been left aside by the most influential and successful modern commentary series.[1] Everyone would admit, of course, that they contain much that is of high religious value. In particular, the tale of the chaste Susanna, one of the best-known and most attractive stories, is not only a valuable memorial of the piety of early Judaism but a religious document of timeless worth. Quite apart from any question of canonicity, it seems, from the literary and religious points of view, as deserving of study as the stories in Dan. 1–6. Much attention has been devoted by scholars to its origin and sources, but comparatively little to its religious meaning. It is the latter that I wish to examine here.

For the sake of reference, we may briefly summarize the familiar story: Susanna is a beautiful woman, devout and well-instructed in the Law, the wife of a wealthy Jew. Two wicked and lustful elders of the people, who hold the office of judge, are smitten with desire for her; they tempt her to commit adultery with them, but she firmly rejects the idea of thus offending God, even at the risk of her life. In revenge, they accuse her before the assembly, affirming that they caught her, *flagrante delicto*, committing adultery with a young man. The assembly accepts their testimony and condemns Susanna. But as she is being led out to be put to death, by divine inspiration the youthful Daniel intervenes; he re-opens the case, and by cross-examination induces the lying witnesses to contradict each other. Susanna is vindicated, and her accusers are themselves put to death.

*A paper read at the McGill meeting of the Canadian Society of Biblical Studies, June 7, 1956.

1. I have in mind such series as the *Handbuch zum Alten Testament*, or on a more popular level the *Torch Bible Commentaries*, the *Alte Testament Deutsch*, and the like. Some of these may plan to treat the Apocrypha separately, but, in the case that interests us here, none would include the additions to Daniel in their commentary on the canonical book. This is done in Catholic works; however, the latest scientific Catholic commentary on Daniel, that by Rinaldi in *La Sacra Bibbia* (1949), is disappointing in its treatment of the "deutero-canonical" sections.

This narrative is not contained in the Hebrew-Aramaic text of the book of Daniel, but it appears in two early Greek versions: that attributed to Theodotion, from the second century A.D., and the older so-called Septuagint translation, whose version of Daniel was produced in Egypt not later than the end of the second century B.C.[2] In Theodotion, Susanna begins the book, preceding what is chapter 1 in the Hebrew text; in the Septuagint it comes at the end, after chapter 12, and is followed by the stories of Bel and the Dragon. These two Greek texts show considerable variations in details, as they do also in other parts of Daniel, especially chs. 4–6. We shall consider the bearing of these differences in a moment.

The researches of several scholars, notably Baumgartner and Heller, have thrown much light on the origin and sources of the Susanna story.[3] Briefly, they have shown that two familiar themes of folklore are here combined: the Genoveva (or Genevieve) tale, as it is called, namely the story of the faithful wife, calumniated but later vindicated; and that of the Wise Child, who intervenes to give the correct judgment in a case that has misled, or simply baffled, professional judges. Many examples of these themes, some of them probably older than the Jewish work, have been collected and examined; and it seems reasonably clear that we have here a *haggadah* based on this originally non-Jewish material.

But what should interest the Biblical scholar is the use made of the material by the Jewish story-tellers. Israel always showed an astonishing capacity for assimilation, in the literary field as in other departments of culture; what makes such assimilated material of value for Jewish studies is, naturally, not so much the elements that remain in common with the earlier sources, as the specific differences that the Israelite product shows. The modifications are evidence of the working of the Israelite mind, based on its characteristic ethos and in particular on its distinctive religion, that concept of God as a unique covenant Deity, which made itself felt in every department of life and conspicuously in their literature.

I would draw attention to three main characteristics of this *haggadah*, which certainly did not belong to the stuff of folklore from which the story outline came. First, and most important, from being a piece of secular entertainment, it has been turned into a religious story, in which the Jewish concepts of God and His Law serve as a frame of reference by which the actions of the human characters are measured. It has become an Old Testament story, with exemplary value and significance for the hearers. In clear and simple style, and with notable elevation of thought, it portrays the ideal of moral conduct which the Pious in Israel admired.

2. The date is guaranteed by the reference to "Ananias, Azarias, Misael," in 2 Maccabees 2:59. Cf. Pfeiffer, *History of New Testament Times* (1949), 440, 449. The date of the Theodotion text, like so much else about it, is unsure; it may in part be earlier than the 2nd century.

3. W. Baumgartner, "Susanna. Die Geschichte einer Legende," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 24 (1926), 259–280; *id.*, "Der Weise Knabe und die des Ehebruchs beschuldigte Frau," *ib.* 27 (1929), 187f.; B. Heller, "Die Susannaerzählung: ein Märchen," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* N.F.13 (1936), 281–287.

The following are some of these specifically Jewish and religious touches: Susanna is described as a God-fearing woman; her parents were just, and had carefully instructed their daughter in the Law of Moses; the villainy of her accusers is explained by their neglecting to "look towards heaven," and is characterized as "lawlessness"; the heroine exposes herself to calumny and death rather than "sin before the Lord"; she prays trustingly to the Lord, and He hearkens to her prayer; He brings about her deliverance, in the Septuagint by sending an angel to bestow the spirit of understanding on a youth, in Theodotion by stirring up the holy spirit which is in the youthful Daniel; the latter is made aware of the truth by this divine inspiration, not by human means; he upbraids the wicked elders for breaking the Law, and for acting like Gentiles, not Judeans; when the truth is disclosed the assembly praise God who saves those that hope in Him; they deal with the guilty according to the Law of Moses; in the Septuagint it is the angel of the Lord who actually puts the criminals to death.

This religious emphasis, pervading the whole narrative, convincingly shows how thoroughly the Israelite story-tellers "re-thought" and worked over their borrowed material. No commentator is doing justice to his text, if he glosses over or ignores this most obvious intention of the authors. Yet many have successfully shut their eyes to it. Here is a small but typical example: one competent scholar complains, "The behaviour of the very youthful Daniel is, at least, arbitrary. He loudly condemns both culprits before he adduces any proof of their guilt."[4] To take it this way is to miss a main point in the story, that God confers on His human instrument a supernatural knowledge of the truth. The same may be said, more broadly, of the various juristic interpretations, to the effect that the whole narrative is a plea for judicial reform in the shape of more careful examination of witnesses. Pfeiffer does justice to these with the remark, "The average reader, even when the story first appeared, would hardly consider the story of Susanna as an appeal for a stricter administration of justice—unless a scholar explained it to him in that sense."[5]

A second characteristic is that the story is located, even though vaguely, in the history of Israel. The vagueness comes apparently from a shift, both of time and place, that was imposed on the story when the "wise young judge" came to be identified with the Daniel of the stories in Dan. 1–6. The original introduction to the Septuagint version is now lost, and it seems likely that it was deliberately suppressed (perhaps by Origen?) because it could not be reconciled with this identification—Daniel being firmly associated with Babylon during the Exile. The Septuagint's ending of the story, however, has survived, and it quite ignores Daniel: "Therefore young men are dear to Jacob in their honesty. And we ought to watch over young men that they may become valiant sons; if young men are pious, a spirit of discernment and understanding will remain in them for ever." This stress on

4. J. T. Marshall, in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, IV (1902), 631, *s.v.* "Susanna."
5. *History of New Testament Times*, 451.

the importance of educating boys in piety implies that all of them may thus enjoy the spirit which the angel bestowed on the young judge.

The original Septuagintal introduction probably located the story in Palestine, dating it by some Persian king or governor, or even Jewish high priest. Certainly the background of the action is entirely different from that of Dan. 1–6. It pictures a self-contained Jewish community, with its own rulers and place of assembly (the assembly itself is called the συναγωγή). There are Jews who live in neighbouring towns. The community has its autonomous legal system and the power of inflicting the death penalty. In short, one gets the impression that the Jews are not a minority but the predominant, perhaps sole, element of the population. As this is simply the setting of the story, and no particular stress is laid on it, we must suppose that it would not seem strange or alien to the original audience. Yet such isolation and independence do not agree with what we know of Jewish settlements in Mesopotamia, in any pre-Christian century; nor do they harmonize with the Jewish status in Alexandria. But they do seem to agree very well with conditions in Palestine itself during the period of Hasmonean rule—say, after 150 B.C. This probably was the background envisaged by the original composer of the story, and familiar to the original audience.

The introduction to the Theodotion version (which, since Origen's time at least, has been attached to the Septuagint as well) is itself secondary, or else has been mutilated. As it stands, it locates the incident in Babylon, but gives no date. In v. 5 there is the phrase "in that same year," which is now meaningless but must once have been preceded by "in the year X of King Y," or something similar. The ending, in this version, is a conventional glorification of Daniel, similar to those in the other Daniel stories: "And Daniel became great in the eyes of the people, from that day forward."

But this shift in time and space is not the only modification induced by the story's attachment to the canonical book of Daniel. Its teaching acquires a new emphasis as well. Whether there was ever a Hebrew-Aramaic edition of the book which included, at the beginning or end, this Susanna story, we cannot be sure. Some good arguments can be adduced in its favour. The main one is the presence of the story in the version of Theodotion, whose work is described by near-contemporaries as a revision of the Septuagint to bring it closer to the contemporary "original text"; certainly in the rest of the book, he agrees closely with the Massoretic text. Hippolytus about A.D. 200 reports that the Jews wished to cut Susanna out of the Scripture, which suggests that they acknowledged its former presence.[6] However, these and similar arguments may indicate no more than that a Hebrew (or Aramaic) text was in circulation, without necessarily proving that it was attached to the canonical book. We are certain only that it was, by the beginning of the 1st century B.C., part of the Greek version of Daniel, composed and used by the Jews of the Greek-speaking diaspora, and was also conserved, two centuries later, by Theodotion. In the latter form it was taken over by the Chris-

6. *Commentary on Daniel*, I. xiv (ed. by Lefèvre in *Sources chrétiennes* 14 [1947]).

tian church into its official Greek bible, and passed later into the Old Latin and Vulgate Latin versions. With the later doubts and denials of its canonicity we are not here concerned.

The third distinctive characteristic, then, is the new dimension, so to call it, which the story acquired by this association with the book of Daniel. Implicitly, it was classified with the other stories in Dan. 1–6, and this sheds considerable light on its understanding by Jewish readers and its religious meaning. The first chapters of the book contain two kinds of narrative. Chs. 2, 4, and 5 are examples of the wisdom bestowed on Daniel by the true God, in comparison with which all the skill and learning of the Chaldeans are as nothing. Chs. 1, 3, and 6, on the other hand, are martyr-legends: stories glorifying the fidelity of Jewish confessors to the worship and law of their God, and showing how He rewarded that fidelity by intervening miraculously to save them from destruction. It is to this latter class that Susanna belongs.

The *genre* of martyr-legends, which was to flourish so exuberantly in later Christian literature, is also abundantly represented in Judaism; and there are a few scattered but noteworthy examples in the Old Testament itself. The essence of martyrdom is heroic fidelity to the known will of God, in preference to all other goods, even one's earthly life. Such an attitude is hardly possible except to holders of a monotheistic creed, who believe in a divine revelation to men. But for such, it is always a possible situation. As we know, the situation became suddenly and agonizingly actual, for the Pious, i.e. the non-hellenizing party, in the province of Judea about 168 B.C., when the Seleucid persecution began. But it had arisen, sporadically and for a few individuals, earlier. For example, the riot in the Temple described in Jer. 26 very nearly led to the prophet's martyrdom, at the hands of his own people; and the editor of the text has added the story of another prophet of the period who actually was put to death (Jer. 26:20–23). In the Judaism of the intertestamental period the cult of the prophets led apparently to their all being looked upon as martyrs, and various apocryphal acts of their martyrdoms were composed. What distinguishes the Daniel stories is the divine intervention, by which the martyr is saved from death, and the Gentiles are converted to an acknowledgement of the supremacy of the Jewish God. This has of course the lofty religious purpose of encouraging the Jewish faithful to stand firm in their endurance of the hellenists' persecution. True, such interventions were not occurring before their eyes—the martyrs were really dying; but their newly-acquired faith in a bodily resurrection—expressed in Dan. 12:1–3, 2 Mac. 7:9, etc.—taught them that their salvation was only briefly delayed. Listening to these stories, the sufferers of the Maccabean period would understand the deliverance of the three confessors from the fiery furnace, and of Daniel from the lions' den, as the symbol and pledge of their own hoped-for deliverance from death, at the "appointed time."

Crucial in any martyr-legend is the test which the hero must face. In

Dan. 1, it is the avoidance of unclean foods. The possible sanction is not expressly indicated, but we are significantly told that Daniel determined he would not defile himself, which suggests a readiness for any sacrifice. In chs. 3 and 6—the fiery furnace and the lions' den—the challenge is explicit: they must apostatize or die. The point at issue is the essence of the Jewish religion, the exclusive worship of the one living God.

If we compare the Susanna story with these, we see that it is a martyr-legend of the same type, and its general teaching is similar. At the same time, there are some interesting differences. First, the Gentiles do not appear in it at all. The plot evolves entirely within a Jewish community, and the principle at stake is one that can be plausibly raised within that setting. The unbelieving Gentiles are here replaced by impious Jews. The rather surprising detail, that they are such eminent members of the community, elders and judges, suggests a background of internal criticism or party strife. This was already reflected in the canonical Daniel, where a sharp distinction is made between the faithful and unfaithful among the Jews themselves. The kingdom of God is not for all the children of Abraham but only for the saints. Susanna's elders may well have had a very specific reference, originally; but I doubt if we can identify the situation now.[7]

Second, the protagonist is a woman. This seems to complement the other stories remarkably well. In Dan. 1 the confessors are teen-age boys. In ch. 6 Daniel is a mature, perhaps elderly, man. In ch. 3, the three heroes are described repeatedly as men, Aramaic *gubrin*, Greek ἄνδρες; yet there was a curiously persistent tradition that they were still boys. According to Theodotion's chronology (he starts ch. 3 with "after 18 years"), they would be over 30 years old. Yet even Hippolytus, who is commenting on Theodotion's text and remarks this lapse of time, continually refers to them as παῖδες and even παῖδες νεώτεροι.[8] Anyway, we may observe that Susanna adds the category of women to the men and children of Daniel; and certainly she makes a heroine worthy to stand in her piety and valour beside Ruth or Judith—and is probably more attractive to us than is the latter.

Third, and most interesting: the principle at stake is not a question of worship or cult, it is a question of morals. It is true that this distinction would not be so clearly perceived by the Jews of that time as it is by us. The whole burden of the mission of prophetism, insofar as it had a "practical" aim, had been to denounce the unholy divorce between faith and life: between what God's people claimed to believe and the way they acted. The immense emphasis on the Law in the post-exilic age was fundamentally a sincere effort to respond to the prophets' demands for a life in harmony with the Lord's will. Thus creed and morals were bound tightly together,

7. In Charles' *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha* I, 644, D. M. Kay is sure that the story is by a Pharisee, satirizing the Sadducees.

8. The explanation that this comes from the use of παῖδες as "servants", later misunderstood as "boys," is unsatisfactory. LXX calls them παῖδες only twice, each time with a following genitive, "of God"; otherwise they are ἄνδρες throughout the chapter. Similarly in Theodotion.

and all rested upon the divine command. The Kantian idea of a self-sufficient moral law was unknown to them. Categorical imperatives came directly from God, and were all contained and set forth in the Law of Moses. Thus, the three obligations of not worshipping idols, of not committing adultery, of not eating pork, were for them practically on the same level. The first is represented in Dan. 3, the second in Susanna, the third in Dan. 1 and also in the martyr-legends in 2 Mac. 6 and 7. For any one of these taboos the faithful Jew should be ready to give his life.

Nowadays we are more inclined to distinguish grades in such obligations; yet, if we take seriously the possibility of divine revelation, we dare not say that the prohibition of certain foods, for example, is not or could not be a sufficiently grave cause for which to sacrifice one's life. Eating a mouthful of pork is no more trivial an action, in itself, than is the dropping of a few grains of incense on the fire burning before the statue of an emperor; and the Christian church has always paid honour to the early martyrs who were put to death for refusing to do just that. It is not the physical act but its religious symbolism that counts. Similarly, the old Yahwist story of the Fall of Man, in Gen. 3, turns precisely on a food taboo; and those who regard such a test as childish and unworthy of a moral and just God, have not, I think, grasped the religious outlook of the Israelite author of that passage. Paradoxically, it might be put thus: the more trivial and arbitrary the command, the more apt it is as a symbol, the better fitted is its observance to express man's due relationship to God.

Susanna's test, however, is on a point of acknowledged importance, even from the sociological point of view—which, needless to say, is not the viewpoint of the author. In the ancient traditions of Israel, there was a story which would immediately come to mind by way of comparison: that of the patriarch Joseph and "Potiphar's wife." There, a man is in a similar situation, and like Susanna he resists temptation on religious grounds. The Joseph story may very well be an adaptation of part of the Egyptian *Tale of Two Brothers*, just as Susanna has various parallels and precedents in folklore. But in each, the Israelite conscience has insisted on elevating the material to the religious level. What might have been nothing but a novelistic intrigue, to be worked out in terms of human relationships, is here set in relation to the primary duty of faithfulness to God and His Law. Susanna does not think of personal preferences or aversions, nor even of the wrong that would be done to her husband. She says, "It is better for me to fall into your hands than to sin before the Lord."[9] Similarly Joseph: "How should I do such a great wrong as this, sinning against God?"

9. It is not a bad test of the seriousness of one's morality, to ask oneself how "sympathetic" this reaction of the heroine appears. Even in Jacobean England, a dramatist could take for granted his audience's sympathy with, and approval of, the absolute rejection of sexual sin, even at the cost of life. (That is, they paid homage to the principle; what their conduct might be is another question.) This is shown by *Measure for Measure*, in which Isabel is intended to be a sympathetic character and Claudio a coward. How completely the popular outlook has changed in our day is shown by the unpleasant effect that Isabel's firmness has on modern audiences, and the often vehement reactions of

Thus Susanna's test is a domestic one, such as does not suppose any general persecution; it is a private though none the less tragic dilemma. This in a sense increases and widens its appeal as a statement of values. Even in hellenistic times (and how much more, in subsequent ages) the affirmation that it is better to sacrifice one's life than to commit adultery was a principle whose application would be more frequently called for, than that excluding the worship of a false god.

I should like to conclude with a remark on the literary style of the passage, again using the other stories for comparison. In the first six chapters of Daniel, we find a marked formality and solemnity; these stories of "great Babylon" were composed for an educated audience, in a *milieu* which preserved a vivid idea of the protocol and manners of the Persian court. (It is doubtful if there is any genuine reminiscence of neo-Babylonian customs, except possibly the execution by fire.) The kings are majestic and superhuman; terrible in their anger, but awe-inspiring in their justice. The Jewish heroes, and likewise the "Chaldeans," show profound deference before the king, yet speak with conscious dignity. On both sides, there is formal courtesy and a lofty style. At the opposite extreme are the stories of Bel and the Dragon, the last of the Greek additions to the book. Their style is popular, almost vulgar; they have been brought down to the democratic level, for an uncultured audience impatient of long speeches, of ceremony, or of historic background. The Greek Daniel's familiar behaviour towards "King Cyrus"—he laughs aloud in derision of something the king says, and holds him back physically from walking forward—would be inconceivable in the Aramaic sections—as it would have been inconceivable at the Persian court.

If one had to determine the local origins of these stories, one could with some confidence ascribe the narratives of chs. 1–6 to a Jewish colony in Mesopotamia, and Bel and the Dragon, with equal confidence, to the Jewish urban population of Alexandria in the 2nd century B.C. These products of a popular polemic, irreverent, quick-witted, rather vulgar, show the qualities to be expected among the lower-class citizens of a bustling and sophisticated metropolis.

The style of Susanna, again, falls between the other two. It is serious and straightforward; not solemn, but not mocking, either; a trifle naive, and unselfconsciously pious. It comes from a Jewish community far more isolated from Greek influences than the one in Egypt. And this again seems to indicate southern Palestine. It is here that Susanna is at home, and her story is a lasting memorial to the faith and moral standards of the Judean populace.

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modern critics. A contemporary playwright who puts his heroine in a similar dilemma, in *The Lady's Not For Burning*, does not venture to bring in religious motives. His heroine —mediaeval in setting, 20th century in mentality—makes an arbitrary "autonomous" decision, in the best existentialist tradition.

The Correspondence of Bishop Strachan and John Henry Newman

JOHN S. MOIR

ON Sunday, August 4, 1839, in the historic chapel of Lambeth Palace, the Reverend Doctor John Strachan was consecrated first Bishop of Toronto with the whole province of Upper Canada as his diocese.[1] Eleven days later, while still in London, Bishop Strachan opened a correspondence with the Reverend John Henry Newman, editor of the Tracts for the Times and one of the leaders of the Oxford Movement.

Strachan's relations with the Oxford Movement, and with its spirit, are not mentioned in his biography.[2] In fact, the impact of the Oxford Movement on the Canadian branch of the Church of England has as yet attracted very little attention among historians or theologians. Yet the ideals of the movement and its practices, especially ritualism, had a profound and disturbing effect in Upper Canada. Some parishes were divided internally by the activities of ardent ritualists and would-be tractarians. On the diocesan scene Low Church and High Church tended to separate along national lines—the Church of Ireland *versus* the Church of England. Although Strachan seldom allowed his feelings to interfere with his duties to the diocese, the fact that he was at heart a High Churchman led to serious conflict during the latter part of his episcopate. In Western Ontario, where the traditions of the Church of Ireland were cherished with almost fanatical fervour, Strachan's High Church sympathies were most strongly opposed, at the first episcopal election for the See of Huron, and afterwards by Benjamin Cronyn, first Bishop of Huron, who created Huron College in protest against the alleged Puseyism of Strachan's creature, Trinity College.

It is not the intention of this paper to trace the religious controversy between the two wings of the state church in Upper Canada, nor the political complications and results of that conflict, for that is too big a subject to be compassed within such physical limitations. The letters reproduced here, all drawn from the Strachan Papers in the Ontario Archives, are intended to show Strachan's attitude towards the Oxford Movement and his reaction to the defection of many of its leaders into the Church of Rome. Strachan was fated never to meet Newman personally, but Newman's influence in propagating the ideal of the *Via Media* is shown clearly in their correspondence. It is unnecessary to comment on the substance of the letters, and the editor has confined himself to placing the letters into the double context of

1. At the same ceremony Aubrey George Spencer, D.D., was consecrated first Bishop of Newfoundland.

2. A. N. Bethune, *Memoir of the Right Reverend John Strachan, D.D., LL.D.*, (Toronto, 1870).

the lives of the two authors and to elucidating some of the more obscure references and points of chronology by footnotes.

The amount of printed material on the Oxford Movement seems to be endless, and it is estimated that in 1933, the centenary of the Movement, some 10,000 books and articles were printed on the subject. Many of the books that have appeared are now unavailable—and a great many more are unknown to the average reader. Special mention should, however, be made here of Geoffrey Faber's *Oxford Apostles* which was republished as a Penguin Book in 1954, and of Chapter III of Harold Laski's *Studies in the Problem of Sovereignty* (New Haven, 1917) which is almost the only attempt to examine the political springs of the Movement. As this paper is concerned primarily with Strachan's ideas rather than the Oxford Movement, the numerous sources consulted in connection with the footnotes have not been cited individually.

John Strachan to J. H. Newman, 23 Sackville St., London, August 15, 1839, draft.

My Dear Sir,

I have found so much in accordance with my own heart and with my own principles in the Tracts of the Times that I shall be very reluctant to leave England for Upper Canada without becoming acquainted with the Authors and thanking them in person for their able defence of the true Church and their eloquent and profound elucidation of the foundation on which she ought to rest.

When I went to Canada about forty years ago my notions respecting the Church, her Government, the efficacy of the blessed Sacraments, the Succession etc., were crude & unsatisfactory. But it pleased God by reflexion rather than books of which I had few to improve my views on all these points so that when I visited this country after twenty four years absence[3] I found them fearfully correct when compared to those generally prevalent at that time in England. As a transient visitor I was silent but not discouraged and in the British Magazine while under its both pious and accomplished Editor[4] and yet more especially in the tracts of the times I was delighted to discover the results at which I had steadily and laboriously arrived carried still further and a flood of light let in upon them which I trust in God will never be extinguished. Having become better acquainted with you from your acknowledged works than with any other of the reputed writers of the tracts I request your assistance in making me personally known to yourself and your associates in your invaluable labours to protect the Church from Popery on the one hand and dissent on the other.[5] I return to Canada early in Octr. and have many arrangements to make but I must find time to meet you at Oxford or any other place more convenient for you. It will be to me a source of permanent delight while travelling in the silent & primeval forests of my Diocese to have spent a single day nay even an

3. Strachan had returned to Britain for the first time in 1824, having arrived in Upper Canada in the last days of 1799.

4. *The British Magazine of Ecclesiastical Information*, edited by the Rev. Hugh James Rose, one of the first Tractarians, who had died in January, 1839.

5. This letter reached Newman at the very time that he felt his first pangs of doubt about the schismatic state of his own church. After lengthy study of the Eutychian and Monophysite heresies during the summer of 1839, Newman recorded, "I saw my face in that mirror [the controversies of the fifth century], and I was a Monophysite."

hour with men whom I already love and admire for the inestimable services they have done to our beloved Church.

I remain My Dear Sir
Yours Faithfully
JOHN TORONTO

J. H. Newman to John Strachan, Oriel College, Oxford, August 19, 1839.

MY DEAR LORD,

On my return to Oxford, which I had left for a few days, I found your Lordship's most kind and acceptable letter. It is a sufficient reward for any trouble or anxiety which the writers of the Tracts for the Times have experienced, if they approve themselves to the Rulers of the Church. Dr Pusey and Mr Keble to whom I will communicate your letter, will, I know, share in my feelings of gratification on reading it. They are neither of them in Oxford at this time. Mr Keble indeed lives in the country; & Dr Pusey is on the Devonshire coast. There are very few persons in Oxford at present, so that I can hardly recommend to your Lordship to come down; though, should you determine to do so I hope I need not say it will give me very great pleasure to do what I can to make up to your Lordship the absence of other people. I think it very probable that I shall be passing through London myself between this and the 4th of October in which case I will not fail to avail myself of your Lordship's permission to wait upon you, and I will inform you a day or two beforehand of my intention.

I am, My dear Lord,
Your Lordship's faithful Servant
JOHN H. NEWMAN

J. H. Newman to John Strachan, Oriel College, Oxford, September 22, 1839.[6]

MY DEAR LORD,

This is the first post by which I have been able to write word when I pass through London. I can hardly hope for the pleasure of seeing your Lordship —but I will take the chance early on Thursday morning next.

My movements have depended on a friend who was going out of England by a packet, the exact day uncertain. Hoping this will account for my seeming inattention.

I am, My dear Lord,
Your Lordship's faithful Servant
JOHN H. NEWMAN

J. H. Newman to John Strachan, Oriel College, Oxford, October 11, 1839.

MY DEAR LORD,

Things have happened very disappointingly as regards my seeing your Lordship. I have just returned to Oxford, & find your letter, too late to avail myself of its offer. I did not recollect I had mentioned the 4th of October in my letter to your Lordship. The truth was I had to take an invalid friend off who was going to Malta,[7] & his vessel went off a week sooner than had been

6. On the same day that Newman penned this letter to Strachan he wrote Frederic Rogers (Lord Blatchford) that he had just had "the first real hit from Romanism." The "hit" was Wiseman's article in the *Dublin Review* which compared the Church of England to the schismatic Donatists.

7. This was probably John William Bowden, Newman's "dear, earliest friend," whose death in 1844 after years of ill-health Pusey hoped might stop Newman's drift into Romanism. Bowden died firmly in the Anglican faith. Newman had visited Malta in the winter of 1832–3 and may have recommended it to his ailing friend.

originally appointed. I am now returned to our yearly circuit [?]—& find that Dr Pusey is still at Brighton.

I was much concerned to hear of your Lordship's affliction—with the kindest and most respectful wishes and best prayers for your Lordship's prosperity personally & in your momentous duties

I am, My dear Lord,
Your faithful Servant
John H. Newman

John Strachan to J. H. Newman, Toronto, May 23, 1840, draft, Strachan Letter Book, 1839–43.

This will be delivered to you by the Revd Henry Scadding[8] of St John [College] Cambridge who goes to England to take his degree of MA. You will find him intelligent pious modest & unassuming. I have just appointed him one of my Chaplains. He is aware of the high opinion which I cherish for you & your Friends and of the Vast benefit which your labours are conferring upon the Church we love and requested a note of introduction.

The said principles which your writings & those of your Friends are disseminating in England are rapidly gaining ground in the United States & this Province. We have a weekly journal under the direction of a beneficed clergyman[9] which during its continuance of three years has done much good in spreading the distinctive principles of the Church of England, & removing the prejudices & mistatements [*sic*] which the Dissenters publish & foster against her. We are gaining ground very rapidly[10] & many of my Clergy who were rather low in their opinions on the Sacraments & sacred Character of the Church are very much changed for the better.

Soon after I arrived from England the Governor General C Poulett Thompson [*sic*] arrived to meet the Provincial Parliament in order to obtain their consent to a Union of the Province of Lower Canada.[11]

As such a Union virtually places the two Canadas under a Papist Legislature I found myself under the necessity of opposing it & when the resolution in its favour passed the Legislative Council to enter my Protest.[12]

The moment that the Union question was disposed of the Governor General produced a bill by his Solicitor General disposing of the Clergy Reserves as

8. Henry Scadding, 1813–1901, after teaching several years at Upper Canada College, became rector of Holy Trinity Church, Toronto. He retired in 1875 and devoted himself to scholarly research and published several works on the history of Toronto.

9. *The Church*, "official organ of the Church of England in Upper and Lower Canada" (according to its masthead,) was established at Cobourg in 1837 under the editorship of A. N. Bethune, Rector of Cobourg and in 1867 Strachan's successor in the see of Toronto.

10. The sociological processes of urbanization were bringing many Wesleyan Methodists, both lay and clerical, into the Anglican fold. In addition the Church of England was the biggest gainer numerically from the renewed immigration to the Canadas.

11. Charles Poulett Thomson, 1799–1841, first Baron Sydenham, had arrived in Canada to take up his duties as Governor General about three weeks before Strachan's return, and opened the last session of the last Parliament of Upper Canada at Toronto in December, 1839. His task was to carry out as far as practicable the recommendations of Lord Durham's Report, the main recommendation being a legislative union for the Canadas with equal representation for both parts despite the fact that Lower Canada had the larger population. The intention of this measure was to reduce French Canadian Roman Catholic influence, not augment it as Strachan believed. The Irish immigration following the tragic potato famine of 1845–6, however, tipped the electoral scales in favour of Roman Catholic representation and led directly to the establishment of the Ontario Separate School system and to more than a decade of Protestant agitation against "papal domination." The solution of both religious and political difficulties was sought in a confederation in 1867.

12. Strachan had been a member of the Upper Canadian Legislative Council since 1820 but he was omitted from the new Council of the United Canadas in 1841.

Church property. It robs her of ¾—it degrades her (as far as human enactment can degrade) to an equality with all Sects & gives the Presbyterians whose numbers it purposely swells by adding to the Members of the Church of Scotland & another division of the Presbyterians an equal portion with the Church of England.[13] The remaining half of the property is given to all the Sectaries within the Province in proportion to their respective Numbers. There are seventeen or eighteen of such Divisions—some deny the Sacraments—some the Trinity. Others seem to have no religious principles—but merely call themselves Christians. You may readily suppose that I gave every opposition in my power to this iniquitous measure & when it passed I warned our Friends in England of its turpitude & corrupt influence by which it was carried that it might be stopped in the House of Lords & it requires the tacit consent of both Houses of the Imperial Parliament before it can become law.[14] Having done all I can in this matter I leave it in confidence in the hands of God.

I trust that while prepared to defend the exterior walls of the Church I am not inattentive to her Spiritual objects which are infinitely more important, and I am happy to say that my Clergy in general are pious diligent & active. Our people are rapidly increasing. From every quarter of the Colony are applications sent me for Clergymen & the strongest desire expressed for the Ministrations of our beloved Church.

My last tract of the time is the 80th but I daily expect all that may have been published up to April.[15] I believe I have all your publications that were out before I left England. I am delighted with Palmer[']s Treatise on the Church[16] & have read with benefit Gladstone[']s book.[17] Nor do I feel inclined to quarrel with the remains of the Revd R. H. Froude.[18] He was a noble Soul and his death a great loss to the Church. A few years would have removed any little excrescencies and perhaps his spirit wishes that his Editor had softened those which appear.

13. Another recommendation of the Durham Report was a local settlement of the Clergy Reserves, hitherto monopolized by the Church of England and blamed by many as the main cause of the Upper Canadian Rebellion of 1837. This plan to divide the proceeds of the Reserves among the denominations met opposition from many sides in Upper Canada for many reasons. The Act was passed thanks to Thomson's managerial ability but was disallowed in Britain on a technicality. The members of the United Synod of Upper Canada had been united with the Church of Scotland with the aid of covert pressure from Thomson—hence the objections of Strachan to what seemed an unduly large plum for the Kirk. In fact the religious census of 1839, the basis for the denominational division of the Reserves funds, was acknowledged by all parties to be statistically erroneous.

14. The Act was disallowed before it reached the House of Lords and a new bill framed and passed by the Imperial Parliament was more generous to the Church of England. When a residue finally became available to other denominations in 1848 the violent political and religious strife engendered over its disposal led to the nationalization of the bulk of the troublesome Reserves in 1854.

15. Tract 80 appeared in 1837.

16. William Palmer, authority on Anglican liturgy, was an admirer of Newman but one who urged the suspension of the Tracts when they came under attack for their supposed Romish tendencies. His *Treatise on the Church of Christ* (1838) was one of the most important theological works of the period.

17. William Ewart Gladstone's book, *The State in its Relations with the Church* appeared in December, 1838, and went into a second edition in 1839. The theme of the work was the impossibility of the state having more than one religion.

18. *Remains of the late Reverend Richard Hurrell Froude,* edited anonymously by Newman, the first two volumes published in 1838 and two more volumes later. Froude had been Newman's *alter ego* who provided the stabilizing influence which Newman needed so badly. His premature death has been blamed by some for Newman's seeking his "authority" in Rome. In any case it is interesting to speculate on Froude's own course and influence had he lived through the whole period of the Oxford Movement. As one who "loved" Froude above all others and as the anonymous editor, Newman may have been hurt by Strachan's frank remarks.

I venture to remind you of a small work which I suggested in my last letter[19] & believe me

Yours Faithfully
J[OHN] T[ORONTO]

John Strachan to J. H. Newman, Toronto, May 21, 1842, draft, Strachan Letter Book, 1839–43.

REVD & DEAR SIR

This will be delivered to you by my Secretary and examining Chaplain the Revd Henry J Grassett[20] who goes to Cambridge to take his degree of AM. & proposes to visit Oxford. You will find him intelligent and well informed & what is better pious and devoted to the duties of his profession. Any attention you may find it convenient to show him I shall willingly repay to any Friend of Yours coming to this Country. I gladly avail myself of this opportunity of renewing our acquaintance in writing as it has not been permitted us to meet in person.

Tho far distant I have not been altogether inattentive to the controversy occasioned by the Tracts for the Times and while I exercise my own judgment in approving or disapproving those I have seen (down to Number 82 inclusive)[21] I am unable to account for its bitterness. I certainly am one of those who believe that the earlier Numbers wrought wonders for our Church and revived with a force never I trust to be diminished that Spirit of reverence for primitive truth & order which in many places seemed to be entirely forgotten. This alone is a benefit of the greatest importance and those who by their writings conferred it deserve our grateful thanks. Moreover it is generally conceded that the Writers so far as they are known are men of greatest ability & learning—earnest & disinterested in their views & conclusions meek & amiable in their deportment & pure & holy in their lives. All this which ought to have removed wrath and acrimony appears rather to have increased them perhaps from the fear that men in every way so good and praiseworthy would by their example & writings acquire the greater influence. Be this as it may I feel persuaded that the Spirit of inquiry you have revived will be ever ruled for infinite good tho' for a time it may be attended with some commotion.

I do not consider myself qualified to decide upon the points at issue and even if I were the requisite information is not within my reach. There are however some few matters which jar our favourite feelings. I regretted Dr Pusey[']s proceedings in Ireland tho perhaps more than redeemed by his beautiful & affectionate apology.[22] I do not & cannot accord with severe strictures on our

19. It is apparent from two references in these letters that all the correspondence with Newman has not survived. Some of the most important incidents in Strachan's life are now forever blanks thanks to the destructive efforts of an officious and self-appointed literary executor (not Bethune,) who undertook to protect Strachan's memory by burning letters and pages from his letterbooks.

20. Henry James Grassett, 1808–1882, chaplain to the Bishop of Quebec, succeeded Strachan as rector of Toronto in 1839. He was created dean in 1867. He was active in educational activities. In 1854 and 1856 he successfully defended his rectory patent in a test case and appeal.

21. It is surprising that Strachan had not seen the later Tracts, particularly Number 90, *Remarks on Certain Passages in the Thirty-nine Articles*, which showed undeniably the Romanizing trend of Newman's thought. Since Tract 90 was published on February 27, 1841, (six days after Newman's fortieth birthday,) Strachan must have been aware of its contents through British magazine and newspaper comments. It is therefore strange that he is so mild in his criticism of those who seemed about to turn off the *Via Media* into the *Via Appia*. It is possible that the 80 here is a slip of the pen for 90.

22. As a result of his visit to Roman Catholic nunneries in Ireland during July and August of 1841, so soon after the appearance of Tract 90, Pusey was severely censured in some quarters. The visit, however, convinced Pusey that reunion with an unreformed

early reformers—or with the tone not always dutiful to my Mother the Church of England—or with some palliations as they seem to me of the Church of Rome. My union with that Church must remain hopeless while she adheres to the Canons of the Council of Trent and the creed of Pius the 4th.[23]

You will be happy to learn that blessed be God we are doing much here and I trust in the right way. The true principles of the Church are daily gaining ground. We desire to be called after no man but to continue to nestle in the bosom of our Mother Scriptural & primitive.

I have derived much benefit from your parochial Sermons of which I have procured the first three volumes.[24] If convenient gratify me with a few lines by Mr Grassett or at your future leisure for I regard not postage.[25]

I remain Revd & Dear Sir

Yours Faithfully

John Toronto

The following extract is from a letter which, though not addressed to Newman, seems to contain Strachan's last word on the Oxford Movement and on those Tractarians who had joined the Roman Catholic Church. Newman, one of the last to make the break with his "Mother Church," was accepted into the Roman faith only one month before this letter was penned.

John Strachan to Henry Patton, Rector of Kemptville, Toronto, November 10, 1845, draft, Strachan Letter Book, 1844–9. (Patton, scion of an old Scottish family, had just returned from Britain where he had met many notable divines. After welcoming him home, Strachan proceeds to comment on Patton's impressions of the personages and events of the day.)

Your remarks on the religious movement in the Church are judicious but altho it has done & will do much good by bringing back her true principles this does not excuse the insidious proceedings of Mr Newman & his Party, whose conduct appears to me a sort of insanity. We are well rid of such men. They have proved themselves totally unequal to the crisis & unworthy of confidence. I can easily conceive it possible for a learned & good man to continue a Roman Catholic who has been born & educated in that Church from strong ties & associations but I cannot conceive it possible for a man of sense to become a Roman Catholic.

Rome was impossible, and in answer to his critics he published a pamphlet *Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury* in February, 1842, in which he attempted to explain the views and principles of the Oxford Movement and to allay the growing irritation and fear within the Anglican hierarchy. In fact the Archbishop had interviewed Pusey on these matters in September, 1841, and requested a cessation of publications and the gagging of Newman. Pusey admitted the Romish tendencies of the Oxford Movement, but after accusing the Roman Church of mariolatry and denouncing the Evangelicals for their nonconformist connections, he ends with strong praise for the blessings of his own Church.

23. Froude had strongly opposed tridentine doctrine as emanating from a false Council. But Froude was dead and Newman had shown in Tract 90, to his own satisfaction at least, that the tridentine doctrines could be accepted as true since they postdated the Thirty Nine Articles by two years. The Articles, however, were not ratified until 1571, seven years after the ratification of the decisions of the Council of Trent.

24. Newman published eight volumes of *Parochial and Plain Sermons* between 1834 and 1843.

25. It was still possible to send letters with the postage payable by the receiver.

Theology and Apologetics

J. V. LANGMEAD CASSERLEY

TO SAY that a great deal of what has passed for and been accepted as theological writing since the eighteenth century has in fact been apologetics rather than theology is, of course, to utter a very broad generalisation to which there are many significant exceptions. Nevertheless such a verdict is one which conveys a great deal of truth, particularly if we have chiefly in mind the theological writings which have emerged during that period out of the English speaking world. This development, of course, has been an understandable one. Since the eighteenth century the theologian has become more and more conscious of the Christian frontier, the line which divides the Christian from an increasingly post-Christian world, and of his strong desire if possible to cross it and to blaze out a beaten track leading from one to the other. On the other hand the vogue of apologetics disguised as theology has done a great harm to the cause of systematic theology itself.

I use the word theology here in the strict sense. It is the *fides quaerens intellectum* of St. Anselm—Christian reason endeavouring to provide a coherent and systematic account of the whole content of Christian faith and of the character and bias of Christian existence. Theology in this strict sense must be distinguished not only from apologetics, but also from what are more properly described as theological studies. By theological studies I have in mind the biblical and historical disciplines which investigate the character and content of the basic data of theological thought—the scriptures, liturgies and the vast and varied literature which has arisen out of Christian history and existence. Theological studies are primarily works of scholarship; theology itself is primarily a work of thought. Clearly theology is profoundly dependent upon and indebted to a vast range of theological studies, but theological studies are not theology, and theology itself in using them transcends and passes beyond them.

Apologetics is also a work of thought, but it differs from theology in its essential nature. Theology is addressed primarily to the Church; apologetics primarily to the world. The aim of theology is that the man of faith should achieve a systematic understanding of the content of his own Christian affirmations, so as to be able to give a coherent account of the nature and purpose of his own existence, and of that reality in and for which he exists. Apologetics, on the other hand, is concerned with the Church's relationship to the world, particularly the intellectual and cultural world, outside the circle of faith and is conscious of the philosophical perplexities which occur to the minds of those outside the circle of faith who contemplate and consider Christianity from what may be called the external point of view. It is important to notice that both theology and apologetics have their proper place

in Christian intellectualism, but the spirit and the prospects of theology are gravely undermined when its aims are confused with those of apologetics, or the apologist is mistakenly permitted to call the theological tune. Such a state of affairs has certainly been tolerated during the last two centuries, and the extent to which it still obtains even now seriously embarrasses and threatens the cause of pure theological thought.

The two chief ways in which the domination of theology by apologetic motives diverts theology from its proper systematic aim, and embarrasses it in its pursuit of its proper task, may be described as follows:

(*a*) First of all, the preoccupation of apologetics with peripheral questions. The questions which are pressed upon the attention of the apologist are usually quite different from those which arise within the very heart of the faith itself. A question which may have very little, or at best a comparatively superficial, interest for theology may nevertheless be a major question for apologetics, simply because large numbers of people who stand altogether outside theology and Christianity regard it as vitally relevant and persistently press it upon the attention of the Church. Conversely many questions of the greatest moment to the theologian are neglected by the apologist, again because non-Christian thought, which is the apologist's primary concern and starting point, does not attach any particular importance to them.

The purpose of apologetics is not and cannot be purely intellectual or theoretic. Apologetics is essentially an activity in the Church—indeed of the Church—closely related in spirit to preaching and evangelism. For this very reason tactical considerations enter into apologetics quite foreign to the nature of pure theology. The apologist's natural and proper desire is to meet the intellectualism which lies outside the Church on its own grounds, to engage its sympathies, to make every possible concession to its characteristic prejudices and preconceptions, while yet succeeding in making a case for some genuine measure of Christian belief and commitment. The theologian, on the other hand, is concerned to present Christian truth in its integrity, in so far as he is able to grasp its integrity, and not, *qua* theologian, to take into very serious account the way in which the contemporary mind is likely to respond to the spectacle of Christian doctrine presented systematically and in its integrity. In short the apologist is essentially an honest and convinced advocate while the theologian is more like a pure scientist, seeking insight into truth for its own sake. Inevitably the apologist will be more concerned with the questions which arise in the mind when Christianity is contemplated from the outside while the theologian will be almost wholly taken up with the very different questions which arise when Christianity is contemplated from the inside. It is hardly likely that the questions with which the apologist deals will be entirely irrelevant for the theological task, but it frequently happens that the apologist will magnify their importance, and it is almost inevitable that many of the deepest theological questions will elude his attention altogether.

For example, we may consider the way in which, in the kind of theology which is dominated by apologetic motives, the problem of miracle has assumed an importance which it does not intrinsically possess. For genuine theology the problem of what we may call the nature of nature, of how there can be, and whether there is, by Divine creation and permission, an order of secondary causality, is a much bigger and far tougher problem than the alleged problem of miracle, which always seems to be raised from a point of view which assumes that there can be no possible doubt whatever about the existence of an integral order of nature. Some theologians at all events have tended to argue that what we entitle and interpret as "the order of nature" is really one prolonged stream of supernatural or miraculous events. Personally I do not believe this to be true, but the question which such a thesis raises is a far more profound one than the problem of miracle as discussed by the average Christian apologist. Again, apologetics has devoted a great deal of attention to the problem of free will considered in relation to some system of naturalistic determinism. Nobody can say that this question is entirely irrelevant, but in pure theology the real problem is the nature of freedom considered in its relation to the Grace of God. Does the Grace of God limit or frustrate man's freedom, or does it negative only the apparent and perhaps pseudo-freedom of choice, while functioning as the ground of man's real freedom to be what God means him to be and to become what God means him to become? We may say that the question as raised by apologetics tends to be the comparatively superficial one of the reality of our apparent freedom of choice, whereas the question as raised in theology is the profounder question of how fallen man can rediscover his true freedom, his *freedom to be*. In apologetics, to sum up, relatively unimportant questions tend to be treated as though they were questions of first-rate importance, and the profound issues of Christian theology tend to be ignored or neglected, precisely because most of the people to whom essays in apologetics are addressed are not in a position, and do not enjoy a point of view, which enables them to see why, or even that, these questions genuinely arise.

(*b*) But perhaps the most embarrassing thing about apologetics from the point of view of theology is not so much the extent of its failures as the burden of its successes. The trouble about really great and successful essays in apologetics is that they tend towards such a fusion of Christianity and passing intellectual fashions that once the intellectual fashion has passed away there is imposed upon the Christian intellect a tremendous and yet superfluous task of disentanglement.

We may select two examples of the way in which the theological mind can be gravely embarrassed by past apologetic successes. Nobody can doubt, for example, that Aquinas dealt brilliantly with the Aristotelian crisis in the thirteenth century. With consummate mastery he showed that there was indeed a way in which he and his contemporaries could consistently be both Christians and Aristotelians at the same time. Unlike some later apologists he contrived this without any modifications of his integral Christianity,

through a superb rethinking of the Aristotelian inheritance, and this because he was a truly great philosopher as well as a brilliantly successful apologist. The time was to come, however, when the intellectual mood of Western civilisation would revolt against Aristotle, but by this time most of the acknowledged Christian thinkers and teachers were convinced Aristotelians. It is arguable, for example, that the conflict with the new sciences of the seventeenth century was a conflict not so much between Christianity and physics as between physics and Aristotelianism in its Christian dress. This was probably the basic issue in the dispute over the teachings of Galileo. Aristotelianism and Christianity had by that time been so skilfully fused that an attack on Aristotle's physics could easily be mistaken for an attack on Christianity itself.

At the end of the nineteenth century, and with diminished power through the first quarter of the twentieth, the chief tendency of apologetics was to present Christianity in terms of some brand of ethical idealism, decked out with an ethical or progressivist account or interpretation of evolution which gave it a kind of pseudo-scientific flavour. Even now, when the mood of the time has turned decisively against what we may call ethical idealism, it is still not always easy to divorce the Christian faith from this fatal marriage in which the apologists involved it. In the long run a too successful apologetics can be even more dangerous to the integrity of theological thought than a relatively unsuccessful one. It has been well said that he who marries today will be a widower tomorrow. Indeed the tempo of cultural change has been so accelerated in the contemporary world that the wheel may well come full circle within a single lifetime, and a Christian apologist who was abreast of his time in his early thirties may sound, if he fails to grow intellectually, like a voice from the dead by the time he reaches his early fifties.

But perhaps the gravest danger in modern apologetics is that of reductionism. The apologist is constantly tempted to commend the faith to the world by reducing it to those proportions or aspects which he finds it relatively easy to commend. Thus the apologist may end by producing his own theology, a theology which is not the historic theology of the Church but a specially reduced and simplified theology for the world. Worse still, he may even be tempted so to twist his account of the historical development of the Church's theology as to suggest that his reduced theology is in fact the true theology of the Church. By such means the integrity of theology is altogether overthrown and the discipline is reduced to a series of *ad hoc* efforts to commend the faith, or those aspects of it which are deemed commendable, to a series of passing intellectual moods and climates of opinion.

We may say that whereas it is for theology to decide what shall be communicated, a theology intellectually free from any domination by apologetic motives, the function of a genuinely Christian apologetic, an apologetic dominated by profoundly theological motives, is to examine how in any reigning climate of opinion the verdicts of theology are to be communicated

to those outside the Church. Thus works of apologetics rather resemble those little books, often very good ones, which attempt to interpret and elucidate the findings of contemporary science, and the state of opinion in the contemporary scientific world, for the benefit of reasonably intelligent people who lack any scientific training but are anxious to know as much as possible about the specialised natural sciences which have so tremendously influenced the shape of the world in which they live.

This of course raises the question how far we can communicate the depths of Christian faith to people outside the Christian Church—or even to many of those who are just inside the Christian Church but whose understanding of the Christian faith is still limited and frustrated by the outlooks and mental habits which they brought with them when they came in. We are of course familiar with the demand for ways of teaching the faith without technical language and in terms of "modern thought." We must probably accept the fact that what can successfully be done along these lines is drastically limited. Thus the little books which explain modern physics without using mathematical or technical terminology, and without presuming any kind of acquaintance with the disciplines of laboratory research, do not really succeed in taking the readers very far. Every special discipline of the human intellect, as it progresses and develops, evolves and perfects its own characteristic language and then uses that language as a medium for saying many important things which cannot be said in any other way. Thus the fulness of Christian communication is only possible within the Church, and only possible within the Church in so far as the Church insists on initiating the faithful into the mysteries of its own characteristic language. There is, of course, a real problem of communication in the modern world, but we are perhaps wrong to suppose that it is the kind of problem which must somehow and at some time be capable of any solution except that of widespread and serious theological education. The trouble about theological education is that it has become too much a series of specialised vocational studies undertaken only by those who are preparing for the Christian ministry. The question of the serious theological education of the laity must be taken in hand far more boldly and pursued far more profoundly in the contemporary world than perhaps ever before in the history of Christendom. Theology for the laity does not mean a special kind of theology of an artificially simplified character, nor does it require the abolition of theological language. Theology for the laity really means *teaching the laity theology*. For at least the laity of the Church is in touch with those realities of Christian existence which theology interprets. Much more difficult is the task of communicating theological truth to those outside the Church, who are not in touch with those realities of Christian existence which theology interprets. This is rather like explaining modern empirical science to people who lack any laboratory experience whatever. They find it so difficult to see what the facts are which are being interpreted, and they understand science as a web of abstruse theory without ever comprehending how it is that these hypotheses get themselves verified, and to what specific range of realities they refer.

In so many of the small books professing to diagnose, explain, expound and defend the faith in modern speech, or "in terms of modern thought," the basic fallacy is perhaps the notion that Christianity is metaphysically neutral, that is, that it can be expressed equally well in almost any metaphysical terminology that happens to be fashionable. It may reasonably be doubted, however, whether this is really the case. Obviously the Christian faith as such is not a metaphysical system, but clearly there are some metaphysical systems which enable us to utter the assertions about destiny and reality which the Christian must utter with force and intelligibility, whereas other metaphysical systems either restrain and restrict the freedom of the Christian mind or perhaps even inhibit it altogether. Christianity is not a metaphysic, but it nevertheless has metaphysical implications and it certainly exerts steady pressure on our metaphysical beliefs. For the committed Christian philosopher, Christianity itself is one of the primary factors which he must take into account in making his metaphysical decisions. A metaphysical philosophy which prevents him from fully and clearly stating his Christian convictions is clearly an unsound philosophy. As a philosopher of course he will not condemn it merely on those grounds; rather with heightened awareness and aroused suspicion he will search for those purely metaphysical weaknesses and inadequacies in the particular philosophy under discussion which render it useless for the purposes of Christian expression. Even the most adequate metaphysic does not amount to and cannot supply a revelation from God, but once we are convinced that the revelation has been given, and has opened up to men a new area of experience, then the philosophy which cannot handle the truths and realities which are borne in upon our minds from every side when we live in that area of experience is clearly one that must be rejected.

All this is part of the case for what some Christian thinkers call the *philosophia perennis*. The *philosophia perennis* is more than Thomism; it includes a wider range of philosophical positions and opens up the possibility of genuine differences of philosophical opinion among equally convinced Christians. We may say that the *philosophia perennis* includes both the Thomistic neo-Aristotelians and the Augustinian neo-Platonists, and of course the modern developments and offshoots of both. The tensions between them are stimulating and fruitful, but we ought not to minimise the depth and extent of their underlying unity. To deny the validity of any conception of the *philosophia perennis*, conceived in this broad and inclusive way, is by implication to deny the providential character of the preparation of the Hellenistic world for the publication and proclamation of the gospel by the discipline of Greek thought and philosophy. It also denies by implication the weight and authority in Christendom of those classical forms and phases of Christian thought which we describe as Patristic, Byzantine and Scholastic.

Thus to defend Christianity is in part to defend the great metaphysical tradition in terms of which classical Christian theology contrived to do justice to the central Christian realities. I do not mean that to the Christian mind the classical metaphysical position is beyond criticism on innumerable points

of detail, but I would suggest that the Christian must regard it as in general running along the right lines, so that the defence of this great metaphysical tradition—obviously a discerning and critical defence—is an essential part of Christian apologetics. At least these considerations suggest that it is very dubious indeed to proceed on the assumption that any contemporary philosophical fashion whatsoever will serve the purposes of Christian expression with equal facility.

Christianity is not metaphysics but it does issue a series of metaphysical demands. We cannot attempt here to provide an exhaustive list of these demands, but perhaps we might mention one or two of the most important of them in order to illustrate precisely the kind of thing we are discussing.

(*a*) Christianity demands a metaphysic which treats material and spiritual reality with equal seriousness, yet resolutely avoids any ultimate dualism.

(*b*) Christianity demands a metaphysic which is naturalistic in the sense of believing in the reality of a true order of nature, but not naturalistic in the sense of believing that that order of nature is or can conceivably be a closed and self-sufficient order. Any metaphysic which can conceive of the being of God is a metaphysic which thinks in terms of supernatural being. Any metaphysic which thinks in terms of the Divine action is a metaphysic which thinks in terms of supernatural action. The purposes of Christian expression cannot conceivably be served by any possible system of metaphysics or metaphysical language which denies the reality of the supernatural. Nor at the same time must we deny the reality of nature. On the contrary the creation of nature is the supreme instance of the supernatural. The existence of an order of nature is a miracle.

(*c*) Christianity demands a metaphysic in which existence is supreme in the order of value and at the same time essence is of primary importance to the order of intelligibility. Neither can be wholly analysed away into the other, with the one exception of the Divine existence itself. Similarly substance cannot be analysed into function nor function into substance. Christianity can tolerate neither Spinoza on the one hand nor John Dewey on the other. The categories of any sound metaphysics remain a plurality and cannot be reduced to a seeming unity by explaining all the other categories in terms of some one central category. In Christianity the sole ground of the unity of the universe is the reality of God. If we ignore the reality of God, we are committed to the problem of an ultimate and irreducible plurality.

Any kind of philosophical thinking which neglects or ignores these basic requirements is useless for purposes of Christian expression, and must be rejected, however fashionable and modern it may be. On the other hand it must always be remembered that the defence of a system of philosophy which satisfies these basic Christian requirements involves more than merely remarking that it satisfies these basic Christian requirements. For Christianity also demands of any philosophy which satisfies its basic requirements that it must have a philosophical integrity of its own and be able to make a rational case for itself without any reference to Christianity at all. Otherwise

the danger is that Christian theology will become metaphysics, and metaphysics will be identical with Christian theology. But this is to confuse things which are basically distinct. Theology must use metaphysics but cannot become metaphysics. Metaphysics on the other hand, while claiming to provide a language which permits the interpretation and expression of all the realities of life and experience, does not necessarily dictate what those realities are to be, and is never identical with the empirical description and testimony which declares what in fact they are.

We may then come to the following conclusions: The first function of apologetics is the critique of contemporary culture and in particular of contemporary intellectual fashions. The *Zeitgeist* is the perennial enemy of the intellect. The truly awakened mind will never consent to be locked up in the fashions and perspectives of a passing age. From this point of view the intellectual movement out of the contemporary world into Christianity can be experienced as something which confers an enormous access of intellectual fredom. Christianity is emphatically not for an age but for all time. It can never be fitted too easily into the framework of passing intellectual fashions. Rather it is a great instrument of criticism which clearly reveals how transitory and ephemeral most of them are. The second function of apologetics is the removal of intellectual obstacles which seem to stand in the way of the intelligent man as he approaches the Christian faith. Apologetics can never argue any man into becoming a Christian; the most it can do is to remove from his pathway a great deal of the intellectual rubbish that impedes his course.

Although in this paper I have distinguished rather sharply between theology and apologetics I do not wish to deny that theology may have an indirect apologetic effect which is a kind of by-product of its success in conceiving and expounding a coherent theological system. The demonstration that Christianity can be systematically and cogently thought out, that the theological system may succeed in enabling us to interpret not only the Christian experience and the Christian facts but also all the other facts and experiences which enter into the texture of human life, bears witness to the power of Christian thought, of theologically inspired Christian intellectualism, in a way and to an extent far beyond the capacity of the more direct attempts of apologetics to wrestle with particular doubts and difficulties. A science may be apologized for, and often it must be apologized for, but the supreme justification of any science is the science itself, its coherence and cogency as an intellectual structure, its successful functioning as the rational interpreter of its chosen subject matter. Perhaps what the somewhat sceptical modern man needs above all as he contemplates and approaches Christianity is not so much the resolution of each of his particular doubts one by one, as the demonstration that Christianity can indeed be received, lived with, and thought through by rational man, in the proper rational mood of unsparing criticism and with an intellectual integrity as absolute as fallen man can make it. So long as such a man merely feels that his particular formu-

lated doubts have been dealt with and resolved, the real heart of his rational doubt is left untouched. He will feel that there may be other possible doubts and difficulties which have not occurred to him which, if they were to be formulated, could not be resolved so easily. What will finally reassure him is not particular apologetic essays but the consciousness that a systematic theology is possible, and compatible with an intellectual scrutiny as searching as that to which other areas of human experience and other systems of human ideas have been submitted in other sciences.

Jew and Gentile: Some Considerations Suggested by Dr. Hay's Reply

E. FLESSEMAN-VAN LEER

I AM very grateful to the *Journal* for offering me the opportunity of clarifying my point of view on the significance of Israel. I argued in my former article (Vol. III, No. 1) that even after the crucifixion and resurrection of Christ the election of the Jews was not nullified, although certainly it was greatly qualified; that, notwithstanding their disobedience, God still gave them a special place in His great design for the world; and that this brought with it certain far-reaching implications for the Church. This view was challenged by Dr. Hay in his reply to my article (Vol. III, No. 2). The salient point of his argument was that the Jews are no longer set apart from other people. For only those Jews who have accepted Christ as their Saviour are the true Israel which is elected, together with those of the Gentiles who recognize Christ, while those Jews who have not accepted Him are rejected by God. That is to say, since the resurrection there has ceased to be any difference between Jew and Gentile and consequently there can be no mystery about Israel today.

I am indeed very grateful to Dr. Hay for his reply, for it is a testimony to the fact that he too recognizes the importance of this question, which has come increasingly to occupy the thinking of the churches on the European continent since the last war and which has already had repercussions in the World Council. The closely knit argumentation of Dr. Hay's article will certainly compel its readers to consider more thoroughly the problem we are dealing with. I am even more grateful for the fact that Dr. Hay argues fully and entirely on a scriptural basis. For this theological question can be very easily confused with quite alien political questions about the national state of Israel and with pro- or anti-Semitic sympathies, and become thereby unwarrantably emotional. With Dr. Hay, I too am convinced that Zionists, Dispensationalists and British Israelites (*bien étonnés de se trouver ensemble*, I am sure) cannot base their position on the Bible.

But the very fact that Dr. Hay argues on a biblical basis and that therefore our difference of opinion arises from differences in exegesis of the biblical data makes it difficult for me to answer him. Dr. Hay will agree with me, I am sure, that a theological position cannot be proved by quoting a few or even many proof-texts. The verses quoted in a theological argument express most succinctly a thought found in a whole passage or whole epistle or, if it be a fundamental concept, in the whole Bible. A careful listening to tone and colour is necessary, a tuning-in on the thoughts expressed by the biblical words but really lying behind them. In a serious

argument in which both sides try to take their stand on scripture, no absolute proof can be advanced that one exegesis is right and the other wrong. We cannot convince each other—though by pointing out to each other certain, perhaps neglected, aspects, by directing each other to inconsistencies, and by asking each other how we can fit particular verses into a certain view, we can make each other more attentive and more careful in listening to scripture and each other, so that scripture may break through our preconceived ideas. But ultimately only the text itself—or rather the Holy Spirit through the text—can give the feeling of evidentness which makes us say: *scriptum est.*

It therefore does not seem to me that it would be very fruitful to answer Dr. Hay by following him point for point in every verse he quotes and putting my different exegesis against the one he offers. I have decided rather to reply in a more thetical than apologetical form. I shall centre my whole argument on one point, which seems to me to be the main one on which all our other differences are focused, namely, that there is still a certain "otherness" of Israel from the world. The significance and consequences of this "otherness" I elaborated in my former article. If this method seems not to answer some arguments brought forward by Dr. Hay, I can assure him that I have considered all the verses he quoted as carefully as I could, trying to see them as he did. But I contiuue to hear the whole of the New Testament, and more specifically Paul, giving a different message in regard to Israel, not only in explicit words, which sometimes admit two or more interpretations, but also in the *imponderabilia* which are indispensable for any expression of thought, often difficult to pin down, but therefore not less real.

As a starting-point in our consideration I take Galatians 3:28, "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus." This verse is always brought forward in the discussion and must certainly be taken into careful consideration. For in view of this Pauline utterance is it not a foregone conclusion that in Jesus Christ Jew and Gentile are now the same, that the original difference is annulled, that therefore we cannot speak of a mystery of Israel—and certainly not of a mystery of disobedient Israel—and that there is no longer any question of a special election of Israel, other than the loving will of God, "who desires all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth" (I Tim. 2.3)? But Paul can not have meant in this verse an extinction of all differences, for in the same verse he goes on to say that there is neither slave nor free, neither male nor female. No Christian will maintain that Christ has extinguished the difference between man and woman. Not only in society but also in the Church man remains man, woman woman. In regard to salvation, both are equal, both have direct access to God, and both are full members of Christ's Body. But their polarity still exists, not as something to be done away with, but as something to be accepted gratefully at the hand of the Creator. It is true that in Christ the

relation between the two sexes is qualified and changed, but the change means a new evaluation, not a devaluation. It is generally conceded today that only in this differentiation of men and women is the richness of humanness to be found and the possibility of human encounter given. And while there is admittedly no biblical indication which allows us to interpret positively the difference between slave and free, it is evident that Paul had no intention of rejecting it either. After Christ this difference too remained and was not abolished even among Christians, although in Christ there could be no separation and no hostility among men. These parallels make it impossible to draw the conclusion that Jews and Gentiles are no longer different. At least, we can not base such a conclusion on this text and texts like it.

That the differences are fully accepted by Paul is corroborated by the fact that in his epistles he addresses each of the before-mentioned groups separately and gives each some specific advice. In regard to men and women, slave and free, this remark does not need elaboration. The fact is well known and the passages are unambiguous (cf. Col. 3:18ff.). As for the Jews and Gentiles, Paul addresses them separately not merely in a few passages but in nearly all his epistles, dealing with their particular problems in specific ways. If one disregards this fact, one precludes the understanding of Paul's thought. For his argumentation is polemical, and to take his remarks theticaly is to introduce a subtle but very real distortion.

In this light we have to attend to utterances of Paul that seem at first sight to be opposed to the view that there is still a real difference between Jews and Gentiles. Several times we find statements that there is no longer any distinction (Rom. 3:22; 10:12; Col. 3:11). The meaning of these statements becomes clear, however, when we realize their scope. Let us consider especially the Epistle to the Romans. We have to realize that chapters 9–11 are not an isolated digression but that the whole Epistle deals with the problem of the relation of "Jew" and "Greek." True, this relation is dealt with in the light of the Gospel, but this relation is the problem that is dealt with (cf. 1:16). In the first part of the Epistle Paul speaks as a Jew to his fellow-Jews about their relation in the light of their Messiah to non-Jews; in the second part (9–11) the reverse question is central: the relation of non-Jews, the "Gentiles," the "Greeks," to his own people Israel—to the whole of Israel, both in so far as it has and has not accepted Christ. I believe it was Abelard who wrote that the Epistle to the Romans has as its central theme the reconciliation of Jews and Gentiles.

Addressing the Jews in the first part of the letter, Paul argues against their conception of election. In order to magnify God's free election of Israel he has to fight their distortion of it into a human prerogative. *Corruptio optimi pessimum.* For the Jews forget that election means being chosen as an instrument which God can use for His work and that it is something to be humbly and thankfully accepted. They change it into an "electedness" in which they can trust, so as to consider themselves above the nations. Fighting this self-assurance and conceit, Paul tells them that they are in no way better than

the Gentiles and that, just because God revealed His will to them in the first place and gave them His law, they are under a greater obligation than anyone else to follow Him (2:9). Being a Jew is only of value if God's will is fulfilled, otherwise it is just something external and physical. The Jews therefore have no reason to consider themselves better or more beloved than the Gentiles just because they are Jews. Paul here stands in the line of the Old Testament prophets, who spoke out of their solidarity with their people about God's punishment and judgment in order to bring them to a right understanding of what it meant to be God's chosen people.

As a non-Jew one has to be very careful in quoting these Pauline words. There is a vast difference if they are said polemically from a basis of love and solidarity, or thetically as an objective statement of fact. Since the former is the case, it is not allowable to draw the conclusion from Romans 2–4 that belonging to Israel was unimportant to Paul. The point can perhaps best be understood if we transfer Paul's words to a more familiar situation and apply them to the Church. (The close parallel between Israel and Church is certainly here significant!) For the same complacency as was found in Israel appears at times in the Church. One can imagine a pastor saying to his flock: "Those are not Christians who are baptized and belong to the Church, but only those who are spiritually Christians. Yes, Jews or Mohammedans who do God's will might be just as good or even better Christians than those who confess that they believe in Christ." But it is clear that these words can only rightfully be spoken by one in the Church to those who are in the Church. As a statement that it makes no difference whether one is a Christian or not, they are to be rejected.

To the Gentile Christians Paul speaks in a quite different way. For if he has to fight the self-assurance of the Jews who trust in their "electedness" he has also to fight the temptation of the Gentiles to doubt the election of Israel when they see its disobedience (9–11). Different as the words may be, their concern is the same—a real understanding of what election is. The Jews falsify it by making it a human possession; the Gentile Christians minimize it by thinking too little of the grace and love of God which can not be annulled and are stronger than man's unbelief and disobedience. Against the doubt of the Gentiles, he emphatically says: "God has not rejected His people" (11:2). And then he points to himself as a living proof of this truth.[1] This pointing to himself makes sense only if he takes himself not as an exception—for in that case the question of 11:1a would still not be answered—but as an individual who is representative of his people. Therefore he strongly emphasizes the fact that he himself is a Jew, a descendant of Abraham (and only "fleshly" descent can be meant), a member of the tribe of Benjamin. We meet here a fundamental biblical notion, the notion of representation. For Israel in her election is representative of the election of all nations, as some groups or individuals in the history of Israel, for instance, the seven thousand who remained faithful in Elijah's time, repre-

1. Note here the *gar*, which is suppressed without reason in the R.S.V.

sent the whole of Israel, and as finally Christ represents all mankind. As Karl Barth says in his *Church Dogmatics*: "The elect in Israel affirm the election of Israel itself."[2] Paul and the mere handful of Jews who had accepted Christ are not exceptions to a general rejection: they are the living signs of God's design and final destination of Israel.

While on the one hand Paul warns the Gentiles not to doubt God's faithfulness to his chosen people, even if temporarily they are disobedient and rejected, at the same time he resists all attempts they may make of Judaizing. This question was also one that concerned both Jews and Gentiles in the Church in a different way. That the Jews remained Jews when becoming Christians was a matter of course to Paul and the early Church.[3] The question was whether the Gentiles, when becoming Christians, had to become Jews too (vide Acts 15). Paul's own attitude in this respect is significant, for while he had Timothy circumcized, who as son of a Jewish mother was by Jewish law considered to be a Jew (Acts 16:3), he objected to the circumcision of the Gentile Titus (Gal. 2:3).[4] His strong resistance to the Galatians who wanted to adopt circumcision and the Jewish law is also to be noted. Perhaps one may surmise that the Gentile converts had a kind of inferiority complex, fostered by the attitude of Jewish Christians (cf. Gal. 2:12). One gets that impression when listening to Paul arguing that they are no longer farther away from God than the Jews, that they are now full participants with the Jews in God's grace in Jesus Christ. Originally they were without God, being aliens from the commonwealth (*politeia*) of Israel, but now that they have become fellow-citizens they should not consider themselves only second-class members of the Church (Eph. 6:16).

That had to be said to the Gentiles in Paul's time. But today the situation is changed. It is no longer the Gentile Christians who feel inferior. Perhaps today one has to say to them: "Though you are full participants in God's election, you are nevertheless the ones who came later, who contrary to nature have been grafted in the cultivated olive tree, who have been added to the Israel of God" (Gal. 6:16).[5]

This is the exegetical foundation on which my understanding of the mystery of Israel is based—or rather which is preliminary to this understanding—for without it there is no mystery at all, in the Pauline sense of the word. The difference between Israel and the Gentiles remains, though in Christ both are made one and the dividing wall of hostility has been broken

2. *Kirchliche Dogmatik*, Vol. II, 2; p. 299.

3. In the time of Justin Martyr there were still Jewish Christians who wanted to observe the law. According to Justin, if they were willing to remain in communion with other Christians and did not compel them to keep the law, and as long as they believed in Jesus Christ and His eternal kingdom, they were to be considered Christians.

4. The translation in the R.S.V. of the participle *ōn* by "*though* he was a Greek" is not a very happy one. It should rather be translated: "*because* he was a Greek."

5. Because of the word *kai*, wrongly left out in the R.S.V., it is impossible to equate "all who walk by this rule" with "the Israel of God." Careful linguistic investigation shows that it is impossible in the Pauline use of the word to translate *kai* with an explanatory *namely*. The "Israel of God" indicates a second group not identical with the first, namely that part of the people of Israel which had accepted Christ.

down. Therefore although the Christian Church is the elected instrument of God to bring the world, Jew and Gentile, into His obedience, there is also a special election and a special promise even for hardened Israel,[6] according to a truth that is not to be forgotten, that election is not primarily election to believe, with its counterpart rejection in unbelief, but election to be specially used by God in his saving design for mankind and to be in a special way representative of others. God has for all men only one purpose, namely that of bringing them to Christ and of establishing His kingdom on earth as it is in heaven. For this one purpose He uses the Church of Jews and Gentiles, who gratefully accept this purpose, and Israel which does not yet accept it and is hardened.

6. It is to be noted that in Rom. 11:28 the very same Jews who are enemies of God because they did not listen to the Gospel are also beloved when it is a question of election. Of course one can maintain that Paul is here carried away by his nationalism. One can also say with C. H. Dodd in his commentary on Romans: "From our standpoint, with a far longer historical retrospect than Paul could have dreamt of the special importance here assigned to the Jews and their conversion in the forecast of the destiny of mankind is artificial." But that Paul still calls the disobedient Jews Israel—a term that regularly carries the connotation of "chosen people" with it (vide *Theologisches Woerterbuch* of G. Kittel)—and that in Rom. 9–11 he assigns some special eschatological importance to Israel seem to me to be facts that can not well be denied. They have been maintained by Augustine, Thomas, and the majority of present-day exegetes. Lagrange calls it the "exégèse normale."

The Theory and Practice of Religious Broadcasting

N. A. M. MONTIZAMBERT

"THE Church must get on the air; the Church must demand, buy and use time on radio and television; the Church must reach this country's men and women through these increasingly popular media." This is an often heard cry in these days. It is a demand for very practical action. And in response the Church in some areas is rushing into the field, and in others is bemoaning her lack of funds, talent and interest.

One cannot help but recognize the great amount of time spent by many thousands of souls before the television set or the radio. In response to this fact the Church is talking in practical terms, and is rushing to supply a religious tone to at least some aspects of these media. This is necessary and praiseworthy, but there is also the danger that practicality may outweigh the theological considerations involved in the use of broadcasting tools. Too often it is not recognized that a decision about the value and validity of these means of communication, and a study of the basic assumptions which lie behind any policy of religious broadcasting should precede, or at least accompany, practical efforts.

The problem of communication in the twentieth century is being fully studied in several quarters. A discussion of religious broadcasting touches on a small but significant area of the overall discussion, and as such is of interest not only to the potential and actual broadcasting clergyman, or to the radio and television committee member, but also to the parson or layman who is concerned about the effect of the mass media on modern listening and viewing man. The practical and the theological cannot therefore be divorced. The particular layman or clergyman is faced with radio and television at every turn and is himself a product of the mass media to some extent; the committee member is to plan practical programmes from a particular theological standpoint; the amateur broadcaster will write, speak and move in definite ways which will demonstrate his beliefs about the communication of religious truth. But a great deal of practical instruction is necessary as well, as must be all too clear to anyone who listens to religious programmes by amateur broadcasters.

This article will touch on both practical and philosophical problems connected with religious broadcasting. These "touchings" will be brief and inconclusive. The writer believes that the present need is not so much for producing a set of answers as it is for raising the questions. The actress Siobhan McKenna has said that in her childhood she was never allowed to

attend the cinema because her father believed that it would curb her imagination. It is my hope that the raising of a few questions might result in fresh, imaginative practical approaches to the mass media, based on sound theological thinking about their uses.

While it is specifically religious broadcasting with which we are concerned, it should be remembered that this is not the only Christian broadcasting that is being done. A broad view of the mass media will see truths about man and his sin, and about a world without God, in many films and dramas that could not be called religious. As long as Truth is being demonstrated, Christians can and should support the productions. The use of such programmes and films in a positive manner by the Church can do much to reach a far wider audience than can those with an enunciated religious content. The work of the Church is to witness to the truth of the Gospel, and this can often be done most effectively in so-called secular programmes. This was the belief demonstrated by the CBC in its television production, for example, of a space-ship adventure story on Good Friday of this year. The time given for the hour-long drama replaced the usual Friday night boxing in Toronto; in order to keep the fans before their sets a play was chosen that apparently had much more tense excitement than pious religion. The impact of the close of the play on the ordinary listener justifies this means as one method of presentation of Christian truth.

The field of "Christian broadcasting" is too large to be tackled here. In limiting this article to the theory and practice of religious programming and broadcasting techniques, I shall quote a passage from the thought-provoking book *The Communication of the Christian Faith* by Hendrik Kraemer, and use his comments as a basis for this discussion.[1]

> An important part of the time of many people is filled by the modern technical means of information and propaganda: television, radio, and cinema. These are the media through which they obtain their "education," to use a great word for a very ambiguous thing. We cannot enter into all the implications of the media of mass communication, their pending between instrument of culture or of barbarism, the problem of "Christian" films, "Christian" radio, "Christian" television. The fundamental thing to be said is that the term "mass communication" is very ambiguous. Genuine communication is always *personal.* There are cases in which mass communication becomes personal, but in the present state of mass communication the combination of these two words "mass" and "communication" is apt to contain a misleading delusion. A great deal of what is produced by these media is propaganda, or a drugging away of the emptiness of countless people, molding the feelings and thoughts according to a pattern which makes them passive tools. Out of commercial considerations, money and inventiveness are lavishly spent. This is not the only thing that can be said about the mass media, but it should be said first, because these media have enormous demonic potentialities and realizations. They also have good potentialities. It should especially be said to and in the Church, and among Christians who with great diligence and devotion try to use these media, as it is said, for the witness to the gospel. In all these diligent efforts there is often a

1. Hendrik Kraemer, *The Communication of the Christian Faith.* Copyright, 1946, by W. L. Jenkins, The Westminster Press. Used by permission.

dangerous optimism, which regards communication as a quantitive proposition, forgetting that the crucial point is not to use them, but to *change* them. What we need is not a rejection of these media, which merely will be continuously perfected, but a critical use of them, a building up of our own criteria and style and a struggle with their demonic, culture-destroying tendencies.

The first statement with which we should deal concerns the time-consuming nature of the mass media. With the radio in the background during the day, and the cinema or televison providing entertainment in the evening, today's families are bombarded with from four to twelve hours of listening material each day. This presents opportunities both for "culture" and for "barbarism." While much of today's activity is described as watching television this often accompanies other necessary work, particularly on the part of women. Mending, ironing and the like are tasks which require enough attention so that really creative thinking is prohibited, but they are not absorbing enough always to fulfill a creative need. The radio and television can both be used to implant ideas into this "background vacuum," so that this area of listening and viewing should not be overlooked.

On the other hand, it may be argued that when so many people are using radio and television as a "drugging away of emptiness" that the airwaves should be filled with as much sound religion as is possible, in the hope that this will come to mean at least as much as the usual background noises.

The traditional soap-opera material maintains high popularity; this kind of escape from or substitution for reality is antagonistic to a Christian view of life. Programmes with educational content, on subjects ranging from cooking and housekeeping to child psychology and politics all contain possibility for good, and can present truth in their own fields.

But on the negative side, by subjecting himself to the demands of the mass media, man forces himself into the position of a passive consumer in which any necessity of initiative or action is obviated. The audience appears as a mass to be entertained, and seldom is a response required. We immediately see that the development of this passive condition is at odds with the Christian doctrine of man, for his will is scarcely ever involved. The danger inherent in a constant maintenance of the consumer attitude is that man may become unable to make a response—whether it be a value judgment, an arousal to action, a desire and search for knowledge, or a recognition and response to God's call.

There is another way of defining the dangers in the mass media. D. R. G. Owen wrote in this Journal last January that the modern view of education "insists that the human being learns best by participating in some activity" and that group activities are superior to individual ones. There is almost no active participation by the home audience in a radio or television show, and the listener is often alone. While the new emphasis on visual education gives a boost to television possibilities, these two stresses of modern education indicate the difficulties involved in a dependence on these media.

If the Christian Church were to deal with these problems by preaching

against the use of radio and television, it would not only achieve nothing, but it would lose a good deal. As Mr. Kraemer writes, the point is to change the media, not to reject them. On the other hand the Church cannot find herself in the position of being so willing to "go along with today's world" that she finds herself controlled by its secularism. We must accept the fact that man is using and will use these media, probably increasingly. But granted this, the job of the Church is to decide what kind and what calibre of material man must receive in order not to become merely a passive consumer. The great popularity of radio and television sales techniques offers the temptation to present Christianity in the same manner that the sponsor presents his soup or soap. It is not a simple matter to praise or condemn these efforts. In the same way that modern Church architecture attempts to express contemporary religion, there is validity in daily remindings of Christian heritage or duty presented in such a way that the eye and ear are attracted. For example, in Holy Week the CBC presented one minute "promos" of stylized drawings, music and readings to illustrate the events of the Passion and placed these during station breaks.

The use of contemporary sales technique, unless carefully guarded, offers this question as the criterion of success: "Are the commercials paying off in bigger attendance at Church, higher morality, etc.?" And even more important in the long run is the question, if man accepts the "sales pitch" type of propaganda, religious as well as secular, is the Church then guilty of worsening man's passive condition rather than taking upon herself the task of inciting him to a constructive response?

While what is popular may not be considered "good" for our purposes, one must remember that people cannot be forced to listen to what "the Church" thinks is worthwhile. In many places the listener can switch to another station or channel, or he can always refuse to listen at all. We are fortunate in Canada to have a criterion other than public desires to guide programming. Stations which depend on local sponsors for their revenue must produce what the largest number will listen to, whereas the CBC is able to take a longer view, and to consider the benefit—cultural and educational as well as in entertainment—of the country as a whole. This of course does not solve the problem. A low rating for a programme of high culture content does little to change the patterns established by constant plugging of material of low quality. However, and this is of greatest significance for those interested in religious broadcasting, the general category into which a programme falls is not enough by which to judge it. A programme of popular music can conceivably be a far better programme—technically, culturally, and spiritually—than a particular religious programme. The name "religious" does nothing to guarantee quality, and may indeed be given to a programme which fulfils some of the demonic potentialities of which Mr. Kraemer speaks.

The person concerned with the presentation of Christian truth on a religious programme needs to decide what it is that the religious programme

is going to communicate, and to whom. The method of presentation varies greatly depending on the audience and on the content. We can divide the functions of religious programmes into four: proclamation, education, entertainment, meditation or worship. These are interchangeable to some extent, and perhaps in the listeners' or viewers' minds—except for school broadcasts—the function of entertainment takes precedence. If this is generally the case, it obviously follows that good programming must be entertaining: that is, it must hold its hearers first by its merits as a programme. Only then will it be able to convey its content so that it will be received positively.

Proclamation of the Gospel is the job of the preacher, who declares what God has done, generally by an open, direct method. Education includes the lecture, the film on, for example, the Holy Land, the dramatized Bible story or life of a religious leader, the panel discussion or a programme of music which is planned to instruct the hearer. Meditation or worship involves the devotional talk or reading, the live church service or constructed services, and devotional music. Over and above these functional divisions is the overall purpose of the Church, which is to bring individuals into relation with God.

It is at this point that the importance of Mr. Kraemer's statement becomes clear—"genuine communication is always personal." It is the individual who must be touched and converted. While earlier we pointed up the difficulties of communication caused by the isolation of the radio listener and television viewer, here a positive inference may be drawn. The listener hears and sees one man speaking to him and to his condition. This is a situation of personal communication, and if the individual is arrested by the first few moments of listening, it is then the task of the broadcaster to supply him with content. An acquaintance with the numbers of listeners indicated in an audience survey report seems to convey to many amateur broadcasters that the microphone before them is a soap-box in Hyde Park which they can use, in the same way as a soap-box, to reach thousands. It is instead the person alone or in a small company who listens. A shouting political speaker on the air suggests the scene of a convention hall; as a member of the radio audience you "listen in" on what is being said. This is very different from the quiet manner of another political speaker who breaks through the listener's thoughts with "information for you" about corruption, planning, and so forth.

An insistence on speaking directly and simply to the individual is especially necessary in devotional talks, and it is these which most clergymen find themselves requested to give. There is a belief in nominal Christian circles that it is not so much what a parson says that influences one's religion, as his personality. Not everyone is given a "warm and winning" personality, of course, but this at least points up the truth that unless genuine communication is established between two people, the words that are spoken are of little value. On radio it is the voice alone which must establish this personal bond. On television it is easier, because eye-catching techniques may hold the

viewers long enough for the bond to be established. In either case a sense of directness and honesty must be conveyed to the audience.

Both the content and the method of presentation relate to the desired and the actual audience. The distinction between the words "desired" and "actual" is important for the occasional broadcaster, because there is obviously little point in beaming a particular talk, reading or play at a teen-age audience, for example, when the surveys show that elderly shut-ins form the main body of the audience at that time. It is only with new or occasional programmes that one can attempt to gain the attention of a particular group.

The large percentage of listeners to programmes of announced religious content are more than nominal Christians. Very few of these programmes reach the avowed agnostic. There are however, dial twisters who may be arrested by the sound of a voice, or fringe listeners who give a speaker two or three minutes chance before switching off. These possibilities combine to make direction at a single group difficult, but in general the choice between proselytizing, encouraging in the faith, counselling or educating can be made.

This breakdown of audience listening must guide the Church in these areas where a great deal of money is to be spent. If the most immediate task seems to be evangelization of the masses, then a different approach—and a different budget—are needed, than if the primary aim is to make the worship of the Church familiar, and available, to those who cannot or do not participate in person.

There are many devout Christians who do not, and will not, listen to religious programmes as a general rule. If religious study and meditation are balanced well with the time that they do devote to radio and television entertainment, there is no reason to try to change this. But we should attempt to determine the differences between those who listen and watch and those who do not, because this discovery will aid planning, and influence the course of religious broadcasting.

What is the listener seeking? We have divided religious broadcasting into four functions from the viewpoint of the Church using the airwaves. This is another equally important question. If we decide that such and such a programme could fulfill the teaching function, and we find that the people, who have tuned into the programme are looking for companionship, we are not likely to retain their interest. Many listeners are seeking comfort or strengthening; they ask for gentle encouragement, not conviction of sin. Others are looking for a direct answer to a problem which they do not want to take to their pastor in person. The companionship of the worshipping community can only be gained by the shut-in over the air. Whether all these reasons are valid is a question that can only be decided after they have been accepted as facts. If a man asking for a spiritual pat on the back is to realize the necessity of admitting his sinfulness, we must start where he is to take him to where he needs to go. This is clear in personal counselling, where clergyman and parishioner meet fact to face, but is easily forgotten when only the microphone or camera faces the speaker.

We have put forward the idea that there are a great many ways to do religious broadcasting, which involve different audiences, different material and different techniques. It only remains to add that these probably also need different men. One cannot do before a microphone what one is incapable of doing away from it. One's own limitations and special talents must be considered as primary guides. The mass media are too important to the contemporary mission of the church to have to deal with prima donnas who are primarily concerned with their own artistic futures. On the practical individual level the Church needs men who can weed out the best speakers, readers, lecturers among themselves, and who will then see that these men are the ones who are heard on the air. The policy of 'a turn for everyone,' regardless of talent or training, harms both the Church and the medium.

What then is the place for religious broadcasts? Should they be announced as such and put into the schedule so that those who wish to hear them may be well notified? Should they be designed to entertain and attract the ear and eye of the secular hearer? Should they be slipped into the schedule, secular-coated, with no demonstration of religious content until after the audience is well settled? These are three possible ways of answering the questions of religious broadcasting, and each is valuable in its own way. Each method raises more questions—of content, audience and technique.

So we come full circle, with, as I stated in the beginning, questions raised and left with no set of answers supplied. The pressing need is for thoughtful consideration of the theological considerations which give birth to religious broadcasting, and a specific application of theory to the detailed techniques of practice. And here as elsewhere is needed courageous imagination, to attempt the new and daring in order to make the news of redemption come alive to this century.

The Life of Christians in the World: An Exposition of Philippians 1:1-2:4

GEORGE JOHNSTON

I

PAUL'S letter to the Church at Philippi, the chief city of Macedonia, is one of the supreme treasures of the New Testament. One recalls how, in response to a vision, the apostle had crossed from Troas to Samothrace and thence had proceeded via Neapolis to Philippi. He was accompanied by Silas, Timothy (the young half-Jew from Lystra whom Paul had called into his service and mission), and the supposed author of the travel diary which makes the latter half of Acts so interesting (Acts 16:1ff.). Philippi, named for the father of Alexander the Great, was then a Roman colony and a witness to the prestige and power of Caesar's line. Here the apostolic band had found a Jewish place of worship and made their first converts—a pattern that seems to have been typical: the Gospel was for the Jew first, and then for the Gentile (Rom. 1:16). The first church in Philippi met in the home of Lydia or the "Lydian lady." Was she the Euodia of Phil. 4:2? She had been "a worshipper of God," that is, probably a proselyte of the synagogue or one of those interested Gentiles who frequented the synagogue services. Paul and Silas were thrown into gaol quite soon, but were released after the earthquake which had burst their prison bars and led to the conversion of their warder. Before long, Paul left the city in order to continue his mission, for it was his ambition to preach in every major city of the Empire so that with his converts and those of all the other Christian missionaries the fullness of the Gentiles might be brought into the Body of Christ which is the Church (cf. Rom. 11:25; 15:14ff.). We are told in Phil. 4:10, 15–18, that the Philippians followed their founder with prayers, love, and money. They had learned the lesson, first proclaimed by the Lord Jesus himself (1 Cor. 9:14; Matt. 10:10), that the missionary who gives all his time to the cause of the Gospel and the Kingdom of God has a right to subvention and support from his congregations (cf. 2 Cor. 8:1–5; 11:9 for other references to the generosity of the Philippians towards Paul and also in "the collection for the saints" of Jerusalem, the Mother Church). It is odd that Paul's specific thank-you note is left over until chapter four of Phil., but there were reasons for this.

All through the letter we find a current of diplomatic reproval and exhortation to unity. 1:5 makes a point of mentioning the "partnership in the gospel" which the Philippians had espoused from the first day of their Christian faith (cf. 4:15). But at 1:27 Paul speaks out in favour of con-

gregational unity and urges his beloved friends and brethren (1:12; 2:12; 3:1) to show Christian fortitude and courage in the defence of the Gospel. Something was disturbing Philippi. The apostle has to suggest, very cautiously, that he cares for them all (1:1, 4, 7, 8); he is sometimes afraid that his work may go to pieces, so that, at the very End, at the Judgement Day, he may hear the awful verdict, "In vain; all was in vain" (2:16). He proposes to send Timothy to them (in spite of the fact that Timothy's name appears in the opening greeting, this is really a letter from Paul), and he takes the trouble to give young Timothy a special testimonial (2:19–24; for the possibility that this paragraph does not belong here, see Dr. J. Hugh Michael's commentary in the Moffatt series; consult also the recent commentary by the late E. F. Scott in *The Interpreter's Bible*). Next, Paul exhibits a certain diffidence about the reception likely to be accorded to Epaphroditus, the Philippian, perhaps one of their bishops, whom he is sending back. It is very probable that Epaphroditus was the one who had brought the latest gift to Rome from Philippi (4:18) and that he had been instructed to remain and render whatever help Paul might need. He is described here in magnificent language: "my brother, my colleague, my fellow-soldier; your apostle; the minister whose liturgy was my necessity" (2:25). This man had fallen ill, had perhaps risked his very life for the apostle's sake, and now he was anxious to get back home. How would he be welcomed? "Receive him like Christians (lit. 'in the Lord'), with all joyfulness; and honour men like him" (2:29f.). One would give much to know how Epaphroditus had run into danger for Paul's sake. Had he suffered at the hands of the "concision party," the "dogs, the evil-workers" of 3:2, or of those curious Christians who took advantage of Paul's bondage to preach Christ in their own way and, as they hoped, to the irritation of the imprisoned apostle? (1:15–17). Had Paul found out that certain Jews or renegade Jewish Christians were plotting against his life and had he informed the Roman authorities (see 1 Clem. 5; Cullmann's *Peter:Disciple, Apostle, Martyr*; and my book, *The Secrets of the Kingdom*)? Paul had some apprehension of his beloved converts falling prey to the people he describes as "enemies of the cross of Christ," whose god is the belly and who glory in their shame (3:18f.). So he begs them to follow his own example, to hold fast to the true faith as he had taught it, and to be united (3:17; 1:27; 2:2; 4:1ff.). Certain women especially are singled out for his appeal; and another who is either "my true yokefellow" or Syzygos (4:2f.). Clement also is named, but he is otherwise unknown. They are all bidden to maintain a joyful spirit, for Paul knew that depression is a real foe to the spiritual life (4:4–7); to rest in the assurance of God, for that is the secret of serenity; and to look with hope toward the Day of Christ (cf. 1:6, 10; 2:16; 3:20f.; 4:5?). It is only when we realise the extent of the difficulties facing both Paul and his Philippian congregation that we are rightly in a position to expound this letter.

II

1:1–2. The opening greeting or "salutation" follows a pattern that deserves study. There is some resemblance to the letters of the time, but far more is distinctive. "Grace and peace from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ" embodies the Christian faith and provides the basis for community, friendship, and hospitality. In Paul's day this was no mere formula, but expressed a deep sense of dependence on God, thankfulness for his exceedingly gracious work in redemption, and the consequent understanding that the redeemed belong together. "Grace" like *chesed* in the OT points to the free love and loyal promise of God, from whom and to whom are all things in heaven and on earth. Grace had taken flesh in Jesus Christ, who is God's affirmative Yes to all his ancient promises (2 Cor. 1:20) and who had revealed the true nature of the divine love by his sacrificial death (Rom. 3:24f.; 5:8). Hence the source of our peace is in the prevenient work of God (Rom. 5:1). As we trust God in Christ to reconcile us to himself, to pardon our sins, and to bestow the power of his Holy Spirit, we become Christians; we are eligible for baptism, and out of that experience of "death and resurrection" we enter into the Body of Christ, the Church of the saints (Rom. 10:9; 2 Cor. 5:18; Col. 1:12–14; 1 Thess. 1:6, 9f.; 2 Thess. 2:13; Rom. 6:3–11; Col. 2:11–13, 20; 3:1–4; Phil. 3:8–11; Gal. 3:26–28; 1 Cor. 12:12ff.; Rom. 12:4–8; Col. 1:18, 22, 24). For the same reason Christians are called "saints," the word used of God's People; "they are a brotherhood dedicated and loyal to God" (C. F. D. Moule on Col. 1:2 in *The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Colossians and to Philemon*). And they are "in Christ Jesus," because they had been sacramentally incorporated into his larger life; he and they constituted a "Body." He the Messiah of Israel was King, and as King he embodied the nation; he the Son of God was the first-born of a great brotherhood, the sons of God who are led by the Spirit (John 15:1–17; Rom. 8:29, 14; see my exposition of the Vine in this JOURNAL for July, 1957, Vol. III, No. 3). The saints of God are the holy, catholic Church; and in this instance it is located at Philippi, a colony of the divine Kingdom (Phil. 3:20), set over against the colony of Rome and the secular, pagan life of that city. What is the witness of the Church to be in such a situation? Transpose the terms to our own day; the question remains: what is the duty and business of the catholic Church of God in Christ when it is established in Peking, Stalingrad, Lvov, Budapest, Istanbul, Amman, Nairobi, Accra, Rio de Janeiro, Santiago, Levittown, Pa., or Elliot Lake, Ont.?

Paul and Timothy are "slaves of Christ Jesus" (cf. Gal. 6:17). Notice that Paul gracefully includes the younger man as his colleague, and that, though himself in the full or technical sense an Apostle and eye-witness of the Resurrection, he is content to be known as Christ's slave (cf. Gal. 1:1, 12, 15f.; 1 Cor. 15:8f.). Those who have to share a ministry within the Church would do well to learn the secret of Paul's charity and brotherliness, for it is not easy to be a colleague.

Philippi has "bishops and deacons." One must not spend time trying to define exactly who these officers were or what their duty was; because we do not know. But it is probable that the bishops were also known, perhaps in more Jewish congregations, as presbyters or elders (cf. Acts 14:23; 20:17 and 28). They may have a parallel in the superintendents of the local camps or brotherhoods of the Zadokites (the *mebaqqer* or *paqid*; cf. the Zadokite Document, C.D. 9:18; 13:7; 14:8; and the *Manual of Discipline*, 1QS 6:12, 14, 20; and the "wise man" of 1QS 3:13; 9:21). These leaders were examiners of postulants; administrators of funds; teachers and spiritual guides; but not all had the same qualifications or duties; and the true leaders were the priests. The parallel, therefore, is by no means exact. In the nature of the case, Christian congregations required local leadership (cf. 1 Thess. 5:12; 1 Cor. 16:16; Heb. 13:17; 1 Pet. 5:1; Jas. 5:14; 1 Tim. 3:1–13; Tit. 1:5ff.). It would seem that some of the apostles' authority and privileges devolved on the congregational presbytery of bishops, for the work of teaching, supervising catechumens, arranging meetings, paying rents, administering the poor funds, and presiding at services of worship, including the two sacraments. Not all bishops were teachers or preachers; some were pastoral teachers (Eph. 4:11); others may have been concerned with financial matters. As for the deacons, we can only guess, with the aid of Justin Martyr and other sources from the second and third centuries, that they assisted the bishops. It may well be significant that Paul gave the ministers this unusual place in his salutation to the church; were they not receiving the support to which he felt they were entitled?

III

1:3–11. "An apostle's prayer." First, it is set in a context of warm affection for the Philippians; for them all and not just for Paul's more intimate friends (verse 8). Ministers who have the cure of souls should, ideally, have a genuine love for their people; when they pray with and for them, they should do so in no carping or irritated spirit. Alexander Whyte somewhere says that it is in the lonely midnight that a pastor may give utterance to his real prayers for his congregation; he dare not do it in the pulpit! Then see how Paul offers his prayer "with joy." This note of joy is characteristic of our epistle (1:4, 18f.; 2:2, 29; 3:1; 4:1, 4, 10) and it is none the less wonderful in the situation of St. Paul. He was a prisoner; he felt there were undercurrents of unrest and danger and even what he considered apostasy at Philippi; his opponents were taunting him by their preaching; he was hard pressed to know if it were not far better to die than to live: and yet he rejoiced! God's being and purpose; Christ's glory and love; the inspiration of the divine Spirit; and the remembrance of all that had been accomplished in his mission field by his colleagues and himself: all rose up as items of blessing and matter for joy. Death itself did not matter. If only his converts would stand fast! One is here confronted with the authentic Christian spirit; the attitude of a David Livingstone in the African jungle, a Sadd

facing his Japanese captors, a Kaj Munk crying defiance to the Gestapo, a Bonhoeffer writing poems and theology in his concentration camp, a Mother Maria (ex-communist, Russian nun) giving her life cheerfully for the sake of a frightened young girl. The light indeed shines in the darkness. Above us rises the Cross, and lo! it is empty!

The pattern of Paul's prayer is thanksgiving and intercessory petition. "I make eucharist to my God," he writes, "at every recollection of you; always, in every petition of mine on behalf of you all, I make my petition with joyfulness." What is the content of this petition? It is (*a*) that God will bring to completion the good work begun by his servant among the Philippians (verse 6; RSV "I am sure" is a participle: "being confident that. . . ." The prayer is implied); (*b*) "that your love may abound more and more, with knowledge and all discernment, so that you may approve what is excellent, and may be pure and blameless for the Day of Christ" (9f.); (*c*) that you may be filled with the harvest of righteousness, the righteousness that comes through Christ (i.e., "justification by faith"); and all "to the glory and praise of God." Here is a pattern that we may follow in our own devotions and in public worship: recollection before God of all his mercies and of our friends; petition for divine blessings, and especially for growth in Christian wisdom and insight. For it is folly to think that the Christian life can safely remain at the Sunday School level. We must know what is good and approve what is better. There is much to learn in Scripture, in the fellowship of the Church, in Colleges and schools, about God and his ways. Let us see that in Canada a deeper reverence for Christian truth and for the intellectual apprehension of it shall develop. Far too often a pious, biblicizing evangelicalism is made to do duty for an informed Christian mind; and that in a day when Christians must both out-love and out-think the enemies of the Cross!

IV

1:12–26. "An apostle's spirit." Paul explains how his very bonds have been used to further the Gospel, by making others aware that he is held "because he is a Christian." Adversity can always be turned to good account. Friends and opponents are preaching the Word, and Paul is happy no matter what his own position may be. His one concern is to do the Gospel honour, by his fidelity and his courage. For Christ lives in him (Gal. 2:20), so that his body must become Christ's servant. "Life means Christ to me, and death is a gain; and which to choose, I cannot tell" (21–23; there are two intruding glosses in 22a). He confidently hopes that the prayers of the Philippians for him (intercession for the minister is also a Christian duty) will be answered and that he will be set at liberty. He would rather die, since that would mean being "with Christ," but his own will counts for little beside God's. Here we have a most interesting clue to St Paul's expectations of life after death, and it should be contrasted with those in 1,

2 Thess., 1 Cor. 15, and 2 Cor. 5. In the Church, the Body of Christ, one is "in Christ" and yet is not "with Christ;" for Jesus Christ has risen from the dead and his followers have not. Death, however, means being with Christ in some sense; nevertheless Paul speaks more than once in Philippians of the Day of Christ, the Judgement Day presumably; and this may involve a resurrection (cf. Rom. 8:11). But Paul's views are not clear and it is very unwise to be dogmatic about the immediate state of the Christian believer after death or about the final Judgement. Jesus left little teaching on this subject, and in the nature of the case we cannot have much. God means us to be faithful and to be hopeful, sure that he who raised Jesus is Lord over death and life, and that his purpose of love must be successful.

This paragraph may be supplemented by Phil. 3:5–15; 2 Cor. 6; 7:5ff.; 10–13; and other autobiographical passages in the letters. We see a highly-strung man, emotional, intellectual, proud of his race, a former Pharisee, and "a man in Christ" learning the way of love. There is much for us all to emulate in this life.

V

1:27–2:4. "A life to match the Gospel." Paul returns to the situation in Philippi, and bids his friends behave themselves as good citizens of the divine Kingdom, in a manner worthy of the Gospel. By "Gospel" he means the good news of God, proclaimed by Jesus Christ and centred in the Cross of Christ where men find that the divine grace pardons sin. For Christ died and rose again "according to the scriptures," and there are many eye-witnesses to his resurrection (1 Cor. 15:3ff.). Jesus is Lord, that is what one must confess. To him the divine name, Maran, Adonai, has been given; for he is the Son of God who was sent in the fullness of the time to redeem Jewry and open the Kingdom to the whole wide world (Phil. 2:11; Gal. 4:4–6). In the Gospel story God is shown to be just and also a Saviour, to be loving to the uttermost, and yet saving his people at an infinite cost: Christ died for the ungodly. Only when we remember the cost and that we were bought "at a price" do we fully realize the obligation of love, gratitude, and service that is laid upon us (1 Cor. 3:16f.; 6:11, 15–20; Rom. 12:1f., 9ff.; 13:8–10).

But a life to match the Gospel! to meet God's goodness and grace! Manifestly that is impossible. And yet it is toward that goal that Paul and every Christian must strive, for at the end a prize awaits them, God's reward of everlasting life in his company, God's transformation of his creatures into the very image of his Son (2 Cor. 3:18; cf. 1 John 3:1–3). Only God can make it possible, but even God cannot effect the great change unless we "work out our salvation with fear and trembling."

Paul's specific request is for unity, humility, and mutual care one for another within the congregation. He was forced to concentrate on these virtues because of the local situation; but there is no period when such

virtues are out of date. Christian unity must be exhibited in the congregation, if the world is to be won. Christians who lack charity and meekness are no asset to Christ. And everyone of us knows how difficult it is to destroy the "old Adam" who likes the front seats, is conceited, needs to be patted and praised, easily takes offence, takes pride in his good deeds and advertises his offerings via the duplex envelope, is impatient and often unkind, jealous, arrogant, rude, wants his own way, gets irritated by others who are of a different mould or come from a different tradition, and so on. "Fulfil my joy," said Paul; "complete my joy," says Christ himself.

VI

Even in so sketchy an exposition as this, it is obvious that our passage presents themes for many sermons. On private prayer and public worship "to the glory and praise of God," rather than for the sake of ritual or the minister's prejudices; and to God, not directed to sentimental ditties and poems from the digests and anthologies so welcome at women's meetings. On Christian joy and hope, for a day of dark discouragement when men fear that the earth itself may be destroyed or radiation fall-out contaminate our entire living-space. On partnership in the Gospel between ministers and congregations, for the work of mission is laid on all and not on a few. On courage to face criticism and slanders. On the unity and peace of a church. On an ideal of ministry. On what to preach. There is material for sermons in the great Christian words of the passage: grace, peace, righteousness, the Spirit of Jesus Christ, life and death, the faith of the Gospel, the incentive of love. One can hardly exhaust the possibilities as men wait on the Spirit of truth for new light out of this Scripture to teach and illuminate the teaching pastors in their strategic ministry to the churches of this and every land. And may that Spirit lead and help us in study, in preaching, and in living to the praise and glory of the Father who has redeemed us in his own Son, even Jesus Christ the Lord.

Book Reviews

Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit. By Samuel Taylor Coleridge. Reprinted from the third edition, 1853, with the Introduction by Joseph Henry Green and the Note by Sara Coleridge. Edited with an Introductory Note by H. St.J. Hart. London: Adam and Charles Black (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada), 1956. Pp. 120 $1.75.

This book, written in the decade between 1824 and 1834, and first published (posthumously) in 1840, provides, at an early date, insight into the question of the authority of Holy Scripture. Here were canvassed many questions which later appeared to have been sprung suddenly upon the world. It is fitting that Mill should have called Coleridge one of the two great seminal thinkers of the nineteenth century; fitting also that this should be the first title in A. and C. Black's Library of Modern Religious Thought.

Whereas from a later nineteenth century religious point of view "scientism" and modernism were to appear as the great enemies of orthodoxy, here it is fundamentalism which bears the mark of the beast—and such an accusation is made by a Coleridge who has come through a liberal Unitarian phase in his spiritual growth. The doctrine he rejects "requires me to believe . . . that all that exists in the sacred volume . . . was—not alone inspired by, that is, composed by men under the actuating influence of the Holy Spirit, but likewise—dictated by an Infallible Intelligence;—that the writers, each and all, were divinely informed as well as inspired." This doctrine, he finds, is really borrowed "from the Jewish Rabbis,—who, in opposition to the Christian scheme, contended for a perfection in the Revelation by Moses."

While Coleridge is prepared to admit a certain inerrancy wherever there is an instance of the Word of the Lord coming to a prophet along with a specific injunction to record it as it is, generally speaking he finds in the authors themselves a disposition to treat the books they write as other books are treated; and he proposes that in modern times men must also treat the Scriptural collection with the same critical judgment exerted upon other texts. This is not because he is a liberal theologian; rather, because he finds that to treat the Bible as specially exempt from the defects of human communication "evacuates of all sense and efficacy the sure and constant tradition, that all the several books bound up together . . . were composed in different and widely distant ages, under the greatest diversity of circumstances, and degrees of light and information, and yet that the composers, whether as uttering or as recording what was uttered and what was done, were all actuated by a pure and holy Spirit. . . ." The integrity, moreover, of the Divine Spirit, is at stake, in view of the contradictions present in the Bible.

He proceeds to examine two vital distinctions, the recognition of which would have saved later disputants much trouble: that between the Bible and Religion, and that between "revelation by the Eternal 'Word' " and "actuation by the Holy Spirit." In the latter distinction he gets on to ground familiar to Coleridgians: the distinction between the objective and the subjective, both of which are necessary to the life in Christ: an external Church, Tradition, Scripture and Sacramentals, and an internal motivation by the Spirit. He concludes with a plea to Churchmen to act in a spirit of faith, rather than of fear.

This work is of considerable relevance today: I have actually met and talked with a bibliolater who admitted that he had for the first time in his life heard it said that the fundamental meaning of "Word of God" was "Jesus Christ." Coleridge provides us with a strong argument that Scripture must be known and interpreted within the organic life of the Church. And, he is no mere liberal: we should investigate further his simple acceptance at face value of certain pronouncements within the Bible. Perhaps, if there is some truth in the dialectical analysis Coleridge makes of social processes, we can see the long three-sided struggle among orthodoxy, scientism and fundamentalism as really a chronic spiritual disease in the Church from which, we pray God, the Body will rise to a new life.

GRAHAM COTTER

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A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature. A translation and adaptation of WALTER BAUER's *Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des N.T. u. der übrigen urchistlichen Literatur.* Fourth rev. and augm. edition, 1952. By W. F. ARNDT and F. W. GINGRICH. Chicago and Cambridge: The University Press (Univ. of Toronto Press). Pp. xxxvii, 909. $14.00.

THE GREEK of the New Testament represents the late Greek colloquial language of the first Christian century. Prior to the discovery in Egypt of great quantities of Greek papyri during the last sixty years scholars believed that New Testament Greek was Classical literary Greek strongly colored by Hebrew influence. The language of the papyri was everyday Greek as it was used by ordinary people; but it remained for Adolf Deissmann to apply this new knowledge to New Testament lexicography. He discovered and demonstrated to a sceptical world of scholars that the Greek of the N.T. was this ordinary or *Koine* language of the day.

One of the first to accept and advocate this revolutionary approach to New Testament Greek in the English speaking world was J. H. Moulton, who with the collaboration of G. Milligan published in 1914–1915 their *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament illustrated from the Papyri and*

other non-literary Sources. This was not strictly speaking a N.T. Lexicon; it rather consisted of illustrative materials gathered from papyri, ostraca, and inscriptions to illustrate the meaning of words occurring in the N.T.

The greatest N.T. lexicographer of this century is undoubtedly Walter Bauer. When his revision of Preuschen's Greek-German lexicon appeared in 1928 it was immediately and rightly hailed as the best lexicon available in any language. His immense learning, his wide acquaintance with the whole range of Christian, Jewish and pagan Greek literature and his devotion to his work are reflected not only in that work but in the subsequent editions as well, the 4th and last appearing in 1952. (He is currently working on another revision.)

At the time of the centennial celebration of the Missouri Synod of the Lutheran Church in 1947 it was decided to present to the theological world a thank-offering by preparing an English translation and adaptation of Bauer's Lexicon. Profs. W. F. Arndt of Concordia Seminary in St. Louis, Mo., and F. W. Gingrich of Albright College in Reading, Pa., spent the next five years in preparing the manuscript. The appearance of this lexicon is the most important thing that has happened for a long time for English speaking New Testament students. It is the first English lexicon of N.T. Greek to appear since Thayer's Lexicon was published in 1886. The Missouri Synod of the Lutheran Church deserves the gratitude of everyone who wishes to study the New Testament seriously.

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Body and Soul: A Study on the Christian View of Man. By D. R. G. Owen. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press (Toronto: Ryerson Press), 1956. Pp. 239. $3.75.

The purpose of this book is to explain what is meant by "pseudo-religion and expose its errors" (Preface).

Dr. Owen believes that Christianity is a "world-affirming" faith; that it does not deny the significance of the scientific, naturalistic and materialistic elements in life. In contrast, however, he states that there has developed within Christendom a pseudo-faith, "religion," or the Christian "religion," which is world-denying, otherworldly and "spiritual." This is a form of belief which looks upon the body or matter as the source of evil. He claims that this view, which originates in Hellenic dualism, disparages "the earthly and the natural." This pseudo-religion was further extended by Medieval Christianity which "turned men's minds away from this world to the 'higher' heavenly places" (p. 23f).

In Part One the author traces the development of the "religious" view of man from Greek philosophy through Early and Medieval thought, through

the Reformation and Renaissance to Modern thought. In Part Two we have a valuable discussion on the "scientific" view of man, a sort of pseudo-science about which Dr. Owen wrote in his former book, *Scientism, Man, and Religion*. Part Three gives consideration to the Biblical view of man.

Most Christian scholars today would agree with the author's main contention, namely, the psychosomatic unity of body and soul which arises out of Hebrew thought. All human life is a unity under God, personally and socially. Even though emphases which have their source originally in Hellenic dualism arise from time to time to lead the faithful to despise the body and the material aspects of life, yet we realize that such emphases do not really belong to a faith which gives prominence to the doctrines of Creation and Incarnation.

When we examine this book closely we note some significant omissions. We realize that this is "a study" on the Christian view of man and, therefore, some things about this view must remain unsaid. But how can a Christian scholar write about the Christian view of man today without taking into his purview the discussion of the *imago dei* in Brunner and Barth? Or how can such an author omit all reference to the monumental study of this view in Reinhold Niebuhr's Gifford Lectures?

Moreover, we would expect the author of this book to wrestle with the transcendent aspects of the *imago dei*. But he gives no consideration to this matter. Further, the term eschatology has been brought back into Christian theology—and rightly so. But the eschatological treatment of the *imago dei* is not dealt with in this volume.

Turning now to some statements in Dr. Owen's book we note that he appears to make an *exclusive* claim for Christianity as the "seed-bed" of modern science (p. 17). Does not pagan Greece deserve some credit also for giving us modern science?

However, it is when Dr. Owen presents the views of the Protestant Reformers, especially Calvin, that we believe that he is open to serious criticism. The author classifies Calvin as a dualist and the father of a "repressive moralism" which follows in the wake of the denial of the value of the body and its natural desires. Further, Dr. Owen writes that Calvin, in harmony with his conception of God, considers the Christian life as "no longer an expression of gratitude for God's forgiving love but simply a matter of rigid and unquestioning obedience to the will of God" (p. 74). Such a statement is far from the truth!

Calvin uses the terms "body" and "soul" and often, if they are taken out of the context of his thought, we might imagine that he was a dualist. He even writes of the body as being a "prison," leading some people to think, writes Dr. T. F. Torrance, "that Calvin has not shaken off the influence of Stoic philosophy." However, Torrance claims this "cannot be substantiated." He goes on: "Calvin is thinking of the Pauline expressions 'the body of sin,' 'the body of death,' 'the body of the flesh,' or 'the body of the flesh of sin,' and of such verses as Rom. 8:10: 'If the Spirit of Christ dwell

in us, the body is dead because of sin, but the Spirit is life because of righteousness' " (*Kingdom and Church*, p. 92). This writer states that Calvin "makes it abundantly clear that deliverance from the prison of the body or the flesh means the resurrection of the body to a better nature, i.e. to a new life in which the body with the whole man will be emancipated from the thraldom of evil which now reigns in the flesh and has changed the nature of man. This is the very antithesis of Stoic thought" (*ibid.*, p. 93). Dr. Torrance's discussion of this theme shows that Dr. Owen misinterprets Calvin's view of man.

Dr. Owen seems unaware that Calvin's language "about the prison of the body and the resurrection of the body, are to be interpreted in terms of Christology . . . the death and resurrection of the believer are to be understood on the analogy of, or in conformity to, the death and resurrection of Christ, for the believer is given to participate in His death and resurrection" (*ibid.*, p. 93f.).

Reinhold Niebuhr confirms Dr. Torrance's view of Calvin's teaching on man when he writes that Calvin does "justice to the Hebraic-Biblical sense of the unity of man in his whole nature, body and soul" (*The Nature and Destiny of Man*, I, p. 159). Niebuhr then quotes from Book One, Chapter fifteen, of Calvin's "Institutes," a chapter which ought to be read in the light of what Dr. Torrance claims to be the true context of Calvin's teaching about man, namely, the analogy of Jesus Christ.

The only dualism in Calvin's teaching is moral. It derives from the sin of man. Contrary to Thomism, in which grace completes nature, the Reformed faith declares that grace judges and redeems nature because the natural man is corrupt. By grace man is called to a higher life in Christ. Such a call will appear "repressive" to the natural man. But this is one aspect of the offence of the Cross.

Again, contrary to Dr. Owen's statement, Calvin believes that gratitude is the chief mark of a Christian. Dr. Torrance writes: "No theme recurs more constantly throughout Calvin's 'Institutes,' 'Commentaries,' and 'Sermons,' than man's duty of thankfulness, and his sin in ingratitude" (*Calvin's Doctrine of Man*, p. 70).

A study of Calvin's work in Geneva as well as his teaching shows how this Reformed leader placed an emphasis on the care of the body, on the sanctity of the material, on the importance of vocation and the divine imperative, under grace, to make the kingdoms of this world the kingdoms of Christ.

Dr. Owen refers briefly to Luther (pp. 71f.), classifying him also as a dualist. Such an estimate of Luther is a misunderstanding of the German Reformer's view of Man. "Luther's anthropology of the 'whole man' . . . is the thought of man as a single responsible person. There are two orientations, but these are the Biblical dichotomy of 'flesh' (sarx) and 'spirit' (*pneuma*), not the Platonic dualism of 'body' and 'soul' ". (*The Righteousness of God* by Gordon Rupp, p. 166. See also *Kingdom and Church* by T. F. Torrance, pp. 49ff.).

There is much in this book that is helpful and commendable. There is also much that is theologically misleading because it does not interpret correctly the teaching of the Protestant Reformers.

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Galilean Christianity. By L. E. ELLIOTT-BINNS. (Studies in Biblical Theology, No. 16.) London: S.C.M. (Toronto: Ryerson Press), 1956. Pp. 80. $1.50.

IN SPITE of the fact that the greater part of the ministry of Jesus appears to have been spent in Galilee, little is known of the progress of his cause in that region after his death. If those who had followed him to Jerusalem returned to Galilee for a time after the crucifixion (as seems probable), the only group of which we have any concrete information soon afterwards established itself in Jerusalem, and Galilee was no longer a centre of interest, at least as far as our records go. There have nevertheless been a number of attempts by recent scholars to discern evidences of a peculiarly Galilean emphasis in some of the sources of our Gospels, and some rather daring hypotheses have been built on very flimsy foundations. There seems to be a widespread unwillingness among students of early Christian history to accept the lack of facts as sufficient reason for avoiding historical reconstructions, which without available facts can have no more substance than moonbeams.

Dr. Elliott-Binns has interested himself in the Christianity of Galilee chiefly because he has been preparing a commentary on the Epistle of James, and has come to the conclusion that it was written in Galilee and reflects a peculiarly "Galilean" Christianity. He puts this Epistle so early that he can think of it as addressed to "the men who had been the followers of Jesus in Galilee during his lifetime" (p. 7). It cannot then have carried an address "to the Twelve Tribes in the Diaspora" (Jas. 1:1); this, thinks our author, may have been added about the middle of the second century, when the name of James will also have been added. Recent German students of the epistle have been inclined to give it an early date, and the question must be regarded as open; the reviewer still inclines to the general view of Dibelius, for whom it is relatively late and more hellenistic than Jewish. But if we are to debate the matter with Dr. Elliott-Binns, we must await the appearance of his commentary. Here it must suffice to say that he has examined all the materials in the Gospels and Acts and in early Christian literature generally that may be thought to throw some light upon conditions in Galilee in the first century, and in particular upon the life of such Christian communities as may be supposed to have existed, with a view to providing a background for the ethical, non-doctrinal teaching of the Epistle of "James." He is an experienced historical investigator, and handles his materials, such

as they are, with the greatest of skill; but one is still left with the impression that he has made far too much of them. Nobody is in a position to say that there was in Galilee anything more than a handful of scattered Christian believers, or that there was not a number of vigorous and well-established churches; that whatever Christianity was there to be found was simple, non-doctrinal, ethical in its emphasis, or that it was the home of an elaborated system of doctrine. Certainly the Epistle of James cannot be used as evidence for the character of Galilean Christianity in the first generation, seeing that its own date and provenance are doubtful; and nothing like enough is known of the Galilean churches from other sources to enable anyone to say that such a writing as "James" is likely to have emanated from them or been written for them.

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The Olney Hymns. By John Henry Johansen. (*The Papers of the Hymn Society*, XX.) New York: The Hymn Society of America, 1956. Pp. 23. 35 cents.

The Hymn Society of America was organized in 1922 with the object of raising the standard of hymns and hymn tunes used in worship, and of encouraging among congregations a renewed interest in hymn singing. As a result there has been an increasing amount of enquiry and research in the field of hymnology, and the Society has published from time to time Papers on hymnody in general, on particular periods and individual hymn writers. A few titles will indicate their nature: "The Religious Value of Hymns," "What is a Hymn?" "Christian Hymns of the First Three Centuries," "Latin Hymns of the Middle Ages," "Luther and Congregational Song," "Isaac Watts and his contribution to English Hymnody," "Revival of Gregorian Chant," "The Hymn Festival Movement in America," and now this most recent paper on "The Olney Hymns." It is a very useful series.

The author begins by describing the Olney Hymns as a collection that has furnished rich material for compilers of other Hymnbooks and which includes among its three hundred and forty-eight hymns several that are immortal. He quotes Garrett-Horder in saying:

> From this little volume of Olney Hymns the Church has drawn a far larger number of hymns, and these greatly prized, than from many more voluminous collections. Its somewhat narrow theology is softened by the reality and tenderness of the religious experience of its authors, of both of whom it may be said, "they learnt in suffering what they taught in song."

The rest of the pamphlet is an expansion of this theme. Mr. Johansen gives a concise and interesting account of the dramatic story of the earlier life of John Newton and of his later ministry at the village of Olney in Buckinghamshire, and at St. Mary Woolnorth in London. He then recounts

the unhappy and tragic life of the poet Cowper and his association with Newton at Olney. Newton projected a new hymn book for his midweek evangelical prayer meeting and found an effective collaborator in Cowper —one of the few English poets who was also a hymn writer. The main section of the pamphlet is an analysis of the nature and content of the Hymnbook and the characteristics of the hymns of the two men, illustrated from individual hymns. The treatment is concise and, within the limits of space, well done. It does not contain a great deal that is new, but the material is gathered together in a useful form and presented in a way that should prove suggestive and informative to the general reader, clerical or lay, who wishes to enlarge his knowledge of hymnody.

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Saint Peter. By John Lowe. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956. Pp. 65. $2.50.

The three lectures which make up this little volume were delivered by Dr. Lowe at the General Seminary in New York in 1955. In the first, he reviews the New Testament evidence for the career of St. Peter, with due consideration of the relevant critical problems (value of Acts, authenticity of 1 and 2 Peter, etc.). The second surveys the evidence from 1 Clement and other early Christian writings for the martyrdom of Peter at Rome, and brings to bear upon it the results of archaeology, with particular attention to the recent excavations under St. Peter's Church on the Vatican hill. Lowe concludes that the Pope went beyond the evidence in claiming that the burial-place of Peter had been positively identified; the most that can be said is that the Emperor Constantine in the fourth century believed that he was constructing his basilica on the Vatican hill on the site of the Apostle's tomb, and that this belief goes back to about 170 A.D. That Peter came to Rome and there suffered martyrdom in the Neronian persecution he regards as established to the satisfaction of all reasonably-minded men. In the third lecture, the learned Dean of Christ Church discusses the doctrinal question of the Petrine primacy with a careful examination of the authenticity and the true interpretation of the cardinal pronouncement of Matt. 16:18–19. He defends the authenticity of the logion, but suggests that the evangelist has transferred it from another setting. The play on the name makes it necessary to identify the "rock" with the man Peter, not with the faith which he has just confessed, much less with Christ himself. If the saying is authentic, the "kingdom of heaven" cannot be equated with the Church, and the power of the keys cannot mean the power to admit or to exclude from the fellowship of the church on earth. But admission to the kingdom is dependent on what happens in relation to the Church; and the Apostle

is here given a share in his Master's authority to forgive sins, the primary need of all who would enter the kingdom. This power is shared by the other Apostles also (cf. Matt. 18:18); yet the Roman Catholic theologians are right in claiming that Peter enjoys "a unique position of his own as foundation and leader" (p. 62). But the Dean is equally certain that they are wrong in assuming that Peter has successors; "there is, so far as I can see, no justification whatever for that assumption in all the evidence we have surveyed. On the contrary it is definitely ruled out. . . . No one can take over Peter's functions as the Rock man. The foundation is laid once and for all. And no one can inherit his apostolic commission" (p. 62).

Short as it is, Lowe's book has an interest and an importance far greater than that of most books of many times its length, and makes a valuable contribution to the literature of its subject.

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A Scholastic Miscellany: Anselm to Ockham. (*The Library of Christian Classics*, vol. X.) Edited and translated by Eugene R. Fairweather. Philadelphia: the Westminster Press, 1956. Pp. 475. $6.00.

The Library of Christian Classics, when complete, will be a series of twenty-six volumes, offering to the English reader a selection of the most important Christian treatises written prior to the seventeenth century. The present volume is the tenth in this admirable series, devoted to the period from the eleventh to the fourteenth century. Its aim is to illustrate the main interests of the great scholastic theologians from Anselm to William Ockham.

The book is divided into three sections. The first, which is by far the largest, is devoted to Anselm of Canterbury. Anselm's *Proslogion* and *Why God Became Man* are translated in full, together with excerpts from lesser known works. Included in this section are selections from Eadmer, Anselm's contemporary and biographer.

The second part of the book deals with the theologians of the twelfth century. It includes passages from the canonists Ivo of Chartres and Gratian, from John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*, from Peter Abelard, Peter Lombard, Stephen Langton, as well as from theologians of the schools of Laon and St. Victor. The translations of some of the selections in this section were done by Gerald E. Moffatt, John Mason Neale, Carmino J. de Cantanzaro, Robert Bridges, and Owen R. Orr.

The third section, entitled "The Thirteenth Century and After," contains short selections from four Franciscan theologians: Bonaventure, his disciple Matthew of Aquasparta (translated by Robert D. Crouse), John Duns Scotus, and William Ockham. All of these writers belonged to the Franciscan school of theology, in which Augustinianism exercised a dominant in-

fluence. The passages selected introduce the reader to Bonaventure's doctrine of divine illumination and to Matthew of Aquasparta's notion of faith and reason. The excerpt from Scotus illustrates his attitude towards the demonstrability of God's existence, while that from Ockham presents his conception of the relation between the civil and papal powers. No selections from Thomas Aquinas are included since an entire volume of the Christian Classics series is devoted to him (vol. XI).

The volume is appropriately called a "miscellany" for its unity lies solely in its aim to illustrate the varied theological interests of scholastic theologians over a period of three hundred years. No two editors would have made exactly the same choice of authors and subjects. The one made in this volume is on the whole judicious and attractive. Every reader will probably regret that certain theologians and writings were not included, or that certain ones were emphasized at the expense of others. The present reviewer is of the opinion that the book would have been better balanced if less attention had been given to Anselm, who occupies more than a third of the book (pp. 47–210), and more given to the non-Thomistic writers of the thirteenth century, who are allotted relatively small space (pp. 363–442). There is reason to emphasize Anselm since he was not only a profound and moving theologian, but he prepared the ground for the later development of mediaeval theology. Yet, as the editor points out, mediaeval thought did not come to full flower until the thirteenth century (p. 47). If "theology" first came to be used in our sense with the discovery of the *logica nova* of Aristotle (p. 28), Anselm is only a parent of mediaeval theology, for he pre-dates that discovery. Moreover, it is difficult to agree with the editor that Anselm's *Proslogion* is the great charter of mediaeval philosophy or that its speculation is philosophical in our sense of the term (p. 53). It is perfectly understandable as an instance of "Faith seeking understanding," but few philosophers today would agree that this is a properly philosophical enterprise.

May one express a regret that more of Bonaventure was not included? His treatise "The Journey of the Mind to God" would have enriched the volume. With regard to the twelfth century, one would like to see some representative of the Platonism of the school of Chartres included in the volume. Incidentally, a selection more typical of Gratian's method and style could have been chosen. The one published is largely borrowed by Gratian from Isidore of Seville.

The book is prefaced with a general introduction, assessing the intellectual achievement of mediaeval Christendom, and a general bibliography for theology and philosophy in the Middle Ages. Each of the three sections has its own introduction and bibliography. The editor shows a well-balanced and profound appreciation of the intellectual achievement of the Middle Ages. He approaches his subject with sympathy and with a wide acquaintance with the best literature in the field.

Anyone who has attempted to translate texts of mediaeval theology or

philosophy into English knows the snares lying in wait for him and the agony of accommodating a technical vocabulary to the English idiom. The translators of this volume are to be congratulated on their success in producing a very readable book while remaining faithful to the thought of their authors.

ARMAND MAURER

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World Church: Achievement or Hope? By JOHN WEBSTER GRANT. Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1956. Pp. vii, 51. $1.25.

THIS LITTLE BOOK by the Professor of Church History in the Union College of British Columbia is a brief introduction to the Ecumenical Movement and appraisal of it. It had its origin in a series of lectures given at the Summer School of Religion at St. Stephen's College, Edmonton.

Answering the question of his title, Professor Grant says that "the world Church" (he wisely uses a small '*w*') is both achievement and hope, both historical and eschatological. It is in a measure achievement; it is in a measure something to be achieved; the final achievement of ecumenism is beyond the ages.

Professor Grant writes of the vision of the world Church as primarily a vision of the Church as a whole, transcending geographical and denominational distinctions; as primarily a fact of the spirit, but having a body; as a movement to make the Churches in their human aspect correspond as much as possible to the divine reality of the Church which is one, holy, catholic, and apostolic. He writes of how the primitive Church became a universal fellowship offering Christ on the same terms to all men; of how the vision of ecumenicity was lost through doctrinal disputes and racial and cultural division; and then of how the vision has been recovered, through the modern missionary enterprise of evangelical Christianity and the ecumenical movement.

Professor Grant enters both achievements and shortcomings in his assessment of the ecumenical movement. Considerable progress has been made, he finds, towards making the Church conscious of its world-wide mission and fellowship: but how much more remains to be achieved! The list of ecumenical activities in which the Churches of the world work together is long and growing; but in mutual help and in building up a sense of loyalty to the world Church we have still a long way to go. Faith and Order may appear to be the least productive segment of the ecumenical movement; but it has given a new atmosphere in relations among the Churches, a new frankness in discussion, and a new experience of the richness of the Church; and it has entered a protest against division and isolation. Large parts of the world Church are outside the ecumenical movement. The accomplishments of this movement are not nearly enough. Nevertheless they are real.

"Is the ecumenical hope to have historical fulfilment or is it within the realm of eschatology?" Professor Grant's discussion of this question leads him to the conclusion that we may hope for the achievement in history of some of the goals of the ecumenical movement, but that their historical attainment can never be complete and final, but always partial and precarious. That does not alter the fact, however, that God wills unity and wills that we should seek unity.

Professor Grant's book is very short. If it had been longer he might have noted that there are still some participants and supporters of missions who have not yet realized the new ecumenical situation which he describes. He might also have written more about the problems of Faith and Order. Within its limits, however, this little book is sympathetic, understanding, and well balanced. It is encouraging and hopeful. It should interest the ordinary reader, and should prompt the student to ask for more.

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The Qumran Community: Its History and Scrolls. By CHARLES T. FRITSCH. New York: Macmillan Company, 1956. Pp. viii, 147. $3.25.

THE PURPOSE of this volume is to tell the story of the Dead Sea Scrolls and to "present their significance for Biblical studies in a way that will catch the imagination of the general reader, and at the same time be practical for the student who may wish to pursue the subject more thoroughly." The author has a thorough knowledge of the published texts and the extensive literature on the Scrolls—his bibliography at the end of the volume is eleven pages long—and has spent a Sabbatic leave in Palestine studying the Scrolls and visiting the archeological sites.

He begins with an account of the archeology of the Khirbet Qumran and on the basis of this reconstructs the history of the Qumran Community and the occupation of the Khirbet site. There are traces of an Israelite occupation in the eighth century B.C. Occupation by the Community began in the reign of John Hyrcanus I (135–104 B.C.) and continued to the time of the earthquake in 31 B.C. At this time the Community migrated to Damascus, partly on account of the disaster and partly on account of the attitude of Herod, for "in the light of the animosity between this profligate Idumean and the Pharisees, we may well imagine how he regarded the Essenes, who were even more extreme in their views than the Pharisees." The Community was restored at Qumran in the reign of Archelaus (4 B.C.–A.D. 6) and was destroyed by the Romans in A.D. 68. The buildings were occupied by Roman forces until the end of the first century A.D. They were occupied again by Jewish partisans during the Second Jewish Revolt (A.D. 132–135).

Dr. Fritsch then gives a very careful and well organized account of the Scrolls and of the caves in which they were found. He includes a description of the manuscript discoveries at Khirbet Mird and Murabbaat. Apart from providing a wealth of historical material concerning the Qumran Sect, the manuscripts shed valuable light upon certain Old Testament problems. For example, the *Hodayoth*, "which were composed not later than the second century B.C. and are full of quotations from the canonical Psalms, deal a death blow to the theory of many Old Testament scholars that some Psalms are of Maccabean origin." The *peshers* on Habakkuk, Malachi and Isaiah "preclude Hellenistic elements in the canonical prophetical books, for which some scholars have argued." From these finds evidence is now at hand to make it "certain that the standardization of the Hebrew text, basis of the Masoretic text of our Hebrew Bibles, began in the first century B.C. and was completed in Palestine before the Second Revolt." On the other hand there is striking evidence, including that in the two Isaiah Scrolls, "that other recensions of the Hebrew text existed side by side with the 'official' text and enjoyed equal authority in their own localities or circles." It is the evidence of the Biblical fragments from Murabbaat which shows that "the official text had become firmly established by A.D. 135."

On the basis of the evidence now available especially in the Habakkuk Commentary, the Manuel of Discipline and the War Scroll, the character of the Community and of its beliefs and practices is carefully indicated. The relationship between the Community and the Damascus Sect and the Essenes is also fully treated. Dr. Fritsch takes the generally accepted position that the Qumran Community was an Essene group and "closely related" to the Damascus Party "if not identical with it."

It is in the field of New Testament studies that the Qumran Documents will prove to be especially significant. Dr. Fritsch deals in turn with the possible connections between the Qumran Community and John the Baptist, the Fourth Gospel, Jesus, the Last Supper, the Book of Acts, and Paul. "There is little doubt that John the Baptist is the key figure through whom many of the practices and teachings of the Qumran sect found their way into early Christianity." John, however, differed from the Essenes in that "he was a popular preacher directing his message of repentance to the common man." The Qumran sect joined the Messianic conception with the idea of the Suffering Servant. "These profound Messianic teachings of the Essenes must have been known by Jesus. There is little doubt that his own Messianic consciousness was strongly influenced by their interpretation of the Old Testament Prophets." The treatment of the Lord's Supper is concluded with the observation that "Professor Kuhn believes that the background of the Lord's Supper must be sought in the communal meal of an Essenian group like the Qumran sect, rather than in the Passover meal, which is definitely a family rite over which the father presides."

This book is to be highly commended for the completeness and the clarity of its treatment of this complex subject. However, it should be read carefully, both because of the amount of detailed information with which it

deals, and also because a hasty reading may lead to the impression that the case for some of its conclusions is stronger that it really is, or that the author is claiming more than he actually does. At times he seems to be reporting the views of others rather than arguing his own position. It is an outstanding merit of this work that its documentation is so thorough. Through its footnotes it becomes an excellent guide to the literature on this subject. It is indeed a very practical aid "to the student who may wish to pursue the subject more thoroughly."

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Principalities and Powers: A Study in Pauline Theology. By G. B. Caird. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956. Pp. xi, 106. $2.25.

It was with real anticipation that the reviewer approached this small but meaty volume because in his judgment the presence in the world-view of the Bible of ideas about supernatural beings, the demonic, and a present dualism, has not been sufficiently recognized.

In a most attractive introduction the lecturer lists some previous studies in this field, Denis de Rougemont's penetrating and beautiful but elusive *The Devil's Share*, however, not being mentioned. He rehearses the evidence for the important part that superhuman mythology played in Paul's thought, and defines his purpose as not metaphysical or apologetic but descriptive.

In the opening chapter, "The Rulers of this Age," it is claimed that Paul inherited the Jewish belief that "the pagan gods were in reality angelic beings to whom God had delegated some measure of His own authority, but whose character had become corrupted by an idolatrous worship which exalted them to a divine and absolute status" (p. 48f.). From an initial expectation of defeat or destruction for them Paul moved to a hope of their inclusion in God's redemption, a hope that would require us to believe that such institutions as the state can be saved.

Chapter two, "The Great Accuser," offers an explanation as to how Paul came to regard the law as a demonic agency. "When the law is isolated and exalted into an independent system of religion, it becomes demonic" (p. 41). Satan's "tragedy consists precisely in this, that law is not the ultimate truth about God, so that, in defending the honour of God's law, Satan becomes the enemy of God's true purpose" (p. 37). It is the god of this age who has used the law, itself good, as a means of blinding the minds of unbelievers.

In the third chapter, "The Bondage of Corruption," there is a singling out for attention of the incongruous and uncontrollable elements in the physical universe and these evils are laid at man's door. "Like the angelic

guardians of the pagan state and the angelic guardians of the Torah, the powers of nature are created beings who can still fulfil something of the purpose for which they were created, in spite of having undergone a corruption which has frustrated the full realization of that purpose and has turned them into enemies of God" (p. 74). All creation will be renewed in the corporeal *and* corporate redemption of man.

In the concluding chapter, "What the Rulers Did Not Know," the threefold character of salvation as a past fact, a present experience, and a future hope, noted and used originally, I believe, by C. Anderson Scott, is argued to be true of Paul's conception of Christ's triumph over the powers. Paul believed in a victory through revelation at Calvary and for the apostle himself on the road to Damascus whereby the superhuman rulers were shown up as usurpers and imposters, continuingly by means of the Spirit, and in an ultimate form at the Parousia. He believed in a victory achieved through identification at the Incarnation and, above all, through the Cross, for in Christ all mankind "passed vicariously through death and resurrection into a new life over which the principalities and powers had no control" (p. 92). He believed in an ongoing emancipation from the weak and beggarly elements under the Spirit, until the whole universe is re-united in the Christ; and in a victory through obedience. "The powers of evil have been defeated by the obedience of Christ; they are constantly being defeated whenever Christians face them in the panoply of God; but the final triumph comes only when divine love has absorbed the whole momentum of evil, drawn its last sting, neutralized its full effects" (p. 101). This lecture would lend itself admirably to preaching.

For the author's basic thesis that in Jewish thought it is man who is responsible for the corruption of the superhuman forces behind the state, a legalistic or authoritarian religion, and the physical world, more evidence is needed than is adduced on p. 68. The passages from the Psalms quoted on p. 9 illustrate the emptiness of polytheism and idolatry but not the corruption of the heavenly order, that "by accepting the worship [of men] the rulers had become involved in their sin."

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The Christian Church in Canada. By H. H. Walsh. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1956. Pp. ix, 355. $6.50.

This work is, as the publisher states, "a pioneer attempt to give a complete view of the religious development of Canada." There have been more or less detailed histories of many of the denominations in Canada, and numerous biographical studies of ecclesiastical leaders. There have been studies of some of the points of impact between church and state on issues such as the Clergy Reserves and the educational systems of the provinces. This work,

by the Associate Professor of Church History of the Faculty of Divinity at McGill University, is to be welcomed as a pioneer attempt to give a comprehensive view of the development of the church in Canada.

Such an undertaking is beset with perils, and it cannot be claimed that the author has completely avoided all of them. It is difficult to give an account of the European background of the Canadian churches within the limits of twelve pages. It is equally difficult to give an account of the expansion of the church in western Canada in twenty-one pages. The wide scope of this study has necessitated a dependence, in some areas, on secondary sources, and the severe compression of material has resulted occasionally in statements which are ambiguous. It is implied on page 223, for instance, that the work of the Presbyterian church among French-speaking Canadians was initiated in 1876. Both the Kirk and the Free Church synods had attempted to carry on such missions before 1850. Charles Chiniquy was received as a minister of the Free Church synod in 1863, not 1876. Considering the vast amount of material presented in this work, such slips are remarkably few.

After giving a summary of the European backgrounds of the churches, the author proceeds to give an account of their development on the Canadian scene. The balance between the denominations, in the space allotted, is maintained with commendable fairness. The movement towards sectarianism, in pioneer days and in modern times, is dealt with in considerable detail, and there is an excellent account of the movement towards Church Union.

One of the most valuable features of the work is its awareness of the interplay of religious and secular factors in the history of Canada.

The work is well documented and indexed. The author and the publishers are to be commended for this contribution towards the study of Canadian church history.

Neil G. Smith

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Free Churchmanship in England 1870–1940; with special reference to Congregationalism. By John W. Grant. London: Independent Press Ltd., n.d. Pp. vii, 424. 19/6.

When M. Elie Halévy wrote his highly significant *History of the English People*, he sought to account for the rise in Britain of that devotion to representative government which, he claimed, "bids fair to become part of the common inheritance of mankind." In his earliest volumes, he dealt first with the political and then with the economic institutions in the country, but he denied that the secret could be found there. In the third volume, he examined the rise of English sects and their contribution to the cultural development of England. Here, Halévy insisted, was the key to the mystery. The humanitarianism which swept over England in the early days of the

industrial revolution was due largely to the strange fusion of evangelical Christianity and non-Christian radicalism.

Four great revolutions have largely moulded the destiny of modern life. Of these, the religious element (and that was largely Puritan) was a salutary, positive and perhaps even determinative factor in the English revolution of the 17th century and the American revolution of the 18th. It was, however, largely negative and even reactionary in the French revolution of the eighteenth century and the Russian revolution of the twentieth.

At all events, the significant contribution of the free churches and the "non-conformist conscience" to certain socially radical movements in England has often been recognized. How, then, is one to explain the apparent decline in influence of English non-conformity today, especially since the end of World War I? Some clues may be discovered in this book by John W. Grant, a graduate of Dalhousie University with a doctorate from Oxford and at present the professor of Church History at Union College in British Columbia.

The book bears the earmarks of a thesis for a doctorate, and Dr. Grant acknowledges his great indebtedness to ex-Principal Nathaniel Micklem of Mansfield College. But whether it is a thesis for a doctorate or not, it is at once most readable and highly stimulating. He devotes particular attention to English Congregationalism which seems to have been most influenced since the turn of the century by theological liberalism. But he does not ignore parallel developments within some of the free churches, although of these the Baptists receive far more attention than either the Presbyterian or the Methodists. Developments within the Church of England are also largely ignored although one suspects that many of the disintegrative tendencies within the free churches might also appear within Anglicanism.

The author lays down certain basic traditions of "mid-Victorian, nonconformist churchmanship" and then by carefully selected quotations from recognized leaders of religious thought, traces the development and modifications in emphasis in dogmatic theology, reaction to ritual, principles of church government, attitudes towards the fundamental nature of the church, the character and importance of the sacraments, and of course, the quickened search for formulas which might facilitate the progress of reunion and the ecumenical movement. He begins with the Savoy declaration of 1659 and John Owen's *The True Nature of a Gospel Church and Its Government* published in 1688. Moving rapidly through the eighteenth century, he brings us quickly to the Victorian period, in which such significant names are listed as R. W. Dale, A. M. Fairbairn, Charles Haddon Spurgeon and Joseph Parker. Then, with the twentieth century, we are given the theses of such leaders as R. F. Horton, C. S. Horne, Peter Forsyth, R. J. Campbell, W. E. Orchard, Albert Peel, W. B. Selbie, E. Shillito, John Oman, Nathaniel Micklem and J. S. Whale, and a few contemporaries.

At present, according to the author, there is in the leadership a "Genevan revival" which "posits a Church founded upon and by the Gospel of the

mighty acts of God, capable of recognition by visible marks, possessing Sacraments deriving their status as means of grace from their relation to the Word, and a ministry to whom has been entrusted the proclamation of the Word and the administration of the Sacraments" (p. 381). To this, he adds: "The line dividing non-conformity on the matter has followed, very roughly, that between those who believe the Christian faith to be capable of formulation and those who hold no truths to be final except the truths of Christian experience."

One may agree that the Christian faith is, or should be, capable of formulation, but at the same time maintain very lively doubts as to whether the acceptable formulation has yet been achieved. It is not difficult to criticize the "liberalism" and invertebrate theology which characterized many of the developments since the turn of the century and which may have been particularly evident in the spasms of Congregationalism, but it is also difficult to accept some of the present formulas as definitive, however one may yearn for more opportunities to pound the pulpit in complacent dogmatism and assert "Thus saith the Lord." For some of the theologians who seem today to pride themselves on their emergence from liberalism may only discover that they have walked from the frying-pan into the fire. The larger questions in biblical criticism, evolution, etc., which troubled the last two or three generations may be no longer significant, but in the shrinking world we must face new problems in theology, created by sociology, anthropology, psychology and the relation of our forms of thought to that implicit in other world-religions such as Judaism, Islam, Buddhism, to say nothing of that strange mélange of anti-religion known as communism, or the challenge of the atomic age ushered in during 1945.

Suggestive as the book is, some warnings are necessary. *First*, it describes English Congregationalism and not Congregationalism as a whole. American Congregationalism, for example, though rooted in the same Puritan movement, differed from English Congregationalism since while the latter had to fight its way against the established church throughout its history, American Congregationalism became at the outset a church established—the standing order, as it was called. *Secondly*, while the sequence of quotations from reputable authorities is highly illuminating, one who is sociologically inclined misses any adequate effort on the part of the writer to indicate the influence of current national or international events on the progress of theological thought. For example, except for some comments on pages 309–310, one might read the entire book and never sense the emotional effect on religious thought created by World War I. *Thirdly*, the author uses the word "spiritualism" to designate faith in the power of the spirit as stressed by such writers as Auguste Sabatier in his distinction between the religions of authority and the religion of the spirit, whereas the word "spiritualism" has at least in the popular mind an entirely different kind of connotation.

Claris Edwin Silcox

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Christian Social Ethics: Exerting Christian Influence. By ALBERT RASMUSSEN. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1956. Pp. xiii, 318. $4.00.

THE DISTINCTIVE CHARACTER of this recent contribution in the field of Christian social ethics is indicated by the subtitle, "exerting Christian influence." The author, who is Professor of Social Ethics and the Sociology of Religion at Colgate Rochester Divinity School, is primarily concerned to offer not another theoretical analysis of contemporary social problems but constructive proposals as to how Christians can and should respond to the enormous pressures and intimidations of the world. Sociological and theological insights are combined in the attempt to give specific answers to such questions as "Why is the Christian Church not more influential in a so-called Christian nation?" "What is the danger that Christian leadership might misuse its influence in confronting the injustices and materialistic tyrannies of our time?" "How can we help more of our fellow Christians to understand the full gospel and what it requires of us toward our neighbours and toward the massive influences that surround all living human beings?" and "How can we set about the task of making Christian social influence more potent?" These questions are prompted by the conviction that the Church in general fails "to understand realistically the unavoidableness, yet the dangerousness, of compromise" (pp. v–vi).

Thus the author undertakes to examine the pressures that compel the Christian to compromise, and to suggest practical means by which he may exert a more compelling influence in the struggle for the allegiances of men. "One of the most dangerous blind spots of our day," he contends, "centers about a need for an adequate understanding of the gigantic powers of social and institutional influence that inevitably play upon all living human beings." This influence may take the form of silent social conditioning through the family, or class affiliation. Sociological analysis shows that the vices and virtues emphasised by religious groups vary according to their basic class affiliation, and that complacency about social responsibility is a middle-class bias (p. 31). Another form of social influence peculiarly characteristic of our time is the result of a deliberately organised attempt to alter the moral climate. This form has assumed increasing importance with the development of the new types of mass communication which have transformed our world into what the author calls "a gigantic battleground of organised influence." One consequence of the revolution in communication is that five advertising agencies buy nearly seventy-five percent of the radio time in America, with the resultant danger that all the values communicated through this means of influence may be subjected to a commercial test; thus a moral atmosphere is created in which truth becomes subservient to sales promotion and integrity to glamour. The church must face the fact that it is no longer in the most advantageous position to wield the symbols that capture the will and the imaginations of men. Those who are in this position—the radio commentators, the script writers, the blue-pencilling editors—have a moral

responsibility commensurate with their new power to shape the basic attitudes of the masses. The Church must convince these key people that this moral responsibility cannot be delegated to professional Christian leaders, that their basic responsibility is to relate their Christian convictions to their use of these media.

On such grounds a strong case is made for the importance of exerting Christian influence through vocation. Those aspects of modern society that make responsible vocation difficult are carefully analysed, and practical means suggested whereby clergy and laymen may unite to combat some of the tendencies of the modern organizational revolution to subordinate human interests to the demands of large organizations. By realistically confronting the great pressures for conformity to existing standards in the sphere of daily work, by concerted efforts to secure more voice and greater moral initiative as individuals and as members of responsible occupational organizations, by developing informal Christian fellowship cells among fellow workers to discuss the implications of Christian vocation, the economic sphere of life which molds the lives of men in many ways may become an important sphere of Christian influence.

A similar approach is made to the problem of exerting Christian influence in politics, and in the local community with respect to racial discrimination and other social problems. Special attention is given to the effect upon the church's program of the type of parish to be served, and a strong case is made for the importance of the local church "discovering" its parish, defining the needs of the community and relating itself to them in a more effective way than Protestant churches in general have done. The individualistic bias of many Protestant churches has led them to overlook the controls exerted by the organized power structures of society (p. 116). This has resulted in naïve failure to distinguish clearly between power and influence. The Protestant church has little power (authority to enforce sanctions) but works through influence and persuasion. In our society individualized moral influence is extremely limited; if churches are to carry weight with respect to public policy decisions, they must act corporately to make a unified impact on public opinion through effective channels of communication.

This survey may serve to indicate the manner in which the author relates a sociological analysis of contemporary American society to the insights of the Christian faith in such a fashion as to make a practical contribution to the solution of the problems of Christian social ethics. One may question, however, whether the moral theology presented in chapters four and six can really be married to a rational sociological analysis so as to give birth to a Christian social ethic. The Christian ethic is represented as an ethic of decision, of absolute obedience to God in every choice (cf. p. 172). But apparently the response of love is not to be guided by reason—"the Christian ethic . . . is one neither of rational principles nor pragmatic expediency" (p. 162). Agreed, but what part *does* reason have to play in developing a social policy on the basis of the ethic of responsive love? The author fails to

make this clear, and yet this is surely fundamental to his whole enterprise. Further, he blurs the distinction between ethic and gospel in affirming that the Christian ethic is indicative rather than imperative (pp. 170ff). The Christian ethic is surely founded on the indicative—God's activity in the world—but just as surely this gives rise to an ethical imperative.

Thus this reviewer finds himself more in agreement with the conclusions of the argument than with the premises. But in spite of these fundamental criticisms, the book is one that should prove useful both to pastor and theological teacher in strengthening ministerial training in precisely that area where it is most inadequate, according to the Niebuhr report (*vide* the review of H. R. Niebuhr, *The Purpose of the Church and its Ministry*, CJT, III, No. 1, p. 49). Its very usefulness makes it the more regrettable that the book is marred by unnecessarily split infinitives, frequent colloquialisms and other infelicities of style.

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By Means of Death. By Hughell E. W. Fosbroke. Greenwich, Connecticut: Seabury Press, 1956. Pp. 96. $1.75.

Far too many Good Friday sermons concentrate upon the horrible details of death by crucifixion and the extent of our Lord's suffering. A morbid fascination with what is gruesome seems to impel some preachers to wring a response from their listeners by an appeal to emotion and sentiment. In this, his first book, Dr. Fosbroke makes a welcome contribution to the Good Friday literature which begs the attention of many Christians in church book shops. This is primarily because, in his thinking about the Cross, Dr. Fosbroke has adopted what we can only describe as a healthy and positive attitude.

In the life and death of Jesus he sees "the revelation then, of what ultimate reality is, and of what God is doing in this world" (p. 17). With that as his axiom the author examines each of the last utterances of the dying Saviour and with the insight which comes from a mature faith, he relates each utterance to a different facet of human experience, that is, to forgiveness, love, concern in human relationships, despair, pain, fulfilment, and self-commitment. For example, the cry of desolation which perplexes many is seen as an act in which Christ "in his complete sharing in our human experience, had to commit himself to One, the movement of whose will he could not, for the moment understand, so that he must lay his despairing doubt before a God hidden in darkness" (p. 59). For ourselves, when life appears meaningless, it is comforting to know that God "will tenderly discern in our cry of passionate, despairing sincerity the depth of our craving for Him" (p. 63).

This reviewer has only two criticisms to offer. The first is that, notwithstanding the brevity of the work, the reader's understanding would have been assisted by a few more well-chosen examples from everyday life. The second concerns the use of such phrases as "the power," "the deathless power," "the moving energy," "the divine pressure," "a constraining force," "the loving energy" which really do not say very much and only serve to confuse the reader with respect to the activity of the Holy Spirit and what we are to understand by the grace of God.

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The Early Christian Fathers. Edited and translated by HENRY BETTENSON. London and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1956. Pp. vii, 424. $3.25.

THE CAUSE of unity and charity, not less than that of scholarship, demands that the students of early Church History in every kind of theological seminary should become familiar, at least in translation, if not in the originals, with the major works of the Church Fathers. First-hand study of the primary sources enables students to detect the prejudices and limitations of their secondary historians; and in this field the prejudices are many. This is especially true for those who belong to branches of the Church catholic that stem from the great Protestant Reformation. Would that our modern Calvinists, for example, all had Calvin's grasp of Patristics! Fortunately there are several parallel enterprises presently engaged in providing a series of volumes containing the most important works, one Roman Catholic, with excellent notes; one that draws from Protestant and Catholic scholarship alike.

In this convenient volume Mr. Bettenson, to whom we are already deeply indebted for a source book in the *World's Classics* that deals with the general history of the Church, has essayed to give us and our students a selection from the writings of the Fathers from St. Clement of Rome to St. Athanasius of Alexandria. The terminus is really "the formula of the Faith promulgated by the Council of Nicaea" (p. 33), and the aim is to illustrate "the process of development in Christian thought, life, and worship" in the ante-Nicene period. Accordingly, we have material that deals with Theology in the strict sense, the Church, the Sacraments, and the Ministry; the doctrine of Man; the problem of Evil; the Scriptures; and the Last Things. Irenaeus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Cyprian and Athanasius are well represented; Justin Martyr does not get justice, Clement of Rome and Ignatius do; there is merely a tiny selection from the Didache on Worship and the Ministry. On the whole, however, I have no quarrel with the editor's preferences. The translations are carefully done, and the introductions are ade-

quate for the compass of the book. Specialists will not be satisfied; they never are. I should hope that Mr. Bettenson will feel encouraged to produce a sequel from St. Athanasius to St. Gregory the Great. If he does, may I suggest that he provide a selected bibliography for further study, with particular reference to the best editions of individual Fathers or their works?

There are a few slips in Scripture references on pp. 39 (2 Cor.), 366 (1 John v. 7), and 388 (1 Cor.) and proof-slips on p. 372n.1 and p. 391 (*speaker's*). The Index ought to contain Church, Holy Spirit, Paraclete; and *Doceticism* should be *Docetism* (*Oxford Universal Dictionary*, 1955, p. 545). The note on "catholic" (p. 67) might be challenged, for on its first appearance this word may well have included the technical sense of anti-heretical; the reference to the "fully sacramental" meaning of "Chrism" (p. 341) needs elucidation for Protestant readers; on p. 363 the reference to Père Bévenot should be given.

These are not very important points, and they do not detract from the value of the volume. I found it a pleasure to handle and to read, and I warmly recommend it to all our constituency.

GEORGE JOHNSTON

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Prayer and Personal Religion. By JOHN B. COBURN, Dean of Trinity Cathedral, Newark, New Jersey. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1957. (Layman's Theological Library.) Pp. 96. $1.00.

I CAN most heartily commend this volume of the Layman's Theological Library. Dean Coburn writes in a simple natural style on a most important subject, and, in my view, neither layman nor clergyman will fail to be greatly helped by studying his book. For the Dean prayer is the highest exercise of the human spirit. It is man's response to God: God having "taken the first step." It is, if you like, the supreme confession of faith. If we really believe in God we shall want to be on terms of intimate communion with Him, and so be able to approach Him, and to realize His initial approach to us, in the most natural and unconstrained way. There are only eight short chapters in this book of ninety-six pages. It can be read through in an hour: such is the style and the sustained interest and devotional quality of the writing. At the end of the hour my own feeling was that I wanted to read the book again and again.

Nothing of real importance is omitted. There are many helpful suggestions as to how we can pray; when we can pray; and what we may assume so that our prayers will be simple and natural. "Be natural before God. Do not pretend to be what you are not . . . when you begin, speak as naturally and as easily as you would to a friend, since God is just that."

Dean Coburn goes on to discuss "The Foundation Stones of Prayer,"

namely Adoration, Thanksgiving, Confession, Intercession, Petition, and tells the reader how to build up one's soul and spiritual strength on these foundations.

This book will prove invaluable for all who are pressed for time and whose devotional life is crowded out by other things, to their own immeasurable loss. It provides helpful counsel for private devotion; for prayer circles and retreats. Having read it myself and been greatly helped by it, I can do no other than commend it to all who want to discover what our spiritual resources are for the business of daily life with all its complexities and trials and challenges, and how they can be made available to everyone.

JOHN SHORT

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The Cross of Christ: Eight Public Lectures. By VINCENT TAYLOR. London: Macmillan & Co., 1956. Pp. vii, 108. $2.00.

THIS BOOK consists of eight Public Lectures, delivered at Drew University, Madison, New Jersey, in the Fall Semester of 1955/56, to an audience consisting of professors, students, preachers, and members of the general public. Although Dr. Taylor had previously treated the doctrine of Atonement, he offers in these lectures an independent attempt to set forth its meaning. In the introductory chapter "The Cross as Eternal and as an Event in Time," Dr. Taylor examines the evaluation of time, "whether past events are only isolated points in a series, or whether God invades history with abiding consequences" (p. 1). His answer is: ". . . while the Cross is an event in history, it is not an isolated event, nor only an event with abiding consequences, but also the invasion of God into human history for the saving and blessing of men" (p. 8). The following chapter, "The Cross as Jesus Himself Saw It," examines the synoptic evidence for Jesus' understanding of His suffering and death. Dr. Taylor justifies the use of the Passion-sayings "as a clue to the interpretation which Jesus placed upon His suffering and death" (p. 17) and comes to the conclusion that Jesus "thought of His death in terms of His vocation as the Son of Man" (p. 18), and that He "interpreted His vocation as the Son of Man in terms of the idea of the Suffering Servant" (p. 19) and "in terms of Old Testament conceptions of sacrifice" (p. 20). The following chapters describe St. Paul's teaching, the teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews and St. John's teaching, examining briefly each source and pointing out their typical motifs. This is followed by a chapter, "Modern Theories of the Atonement," which outlines the contributions made by ten theologians between 1856 and 1935, mainly originating in Great Britain. The final chapter, "Towards a Modern Statement of the Doctrine," offers Dr. Taylor's own interpretation which "may be called the Sacrificial Theory" (p. 104). "Indeed, there is no aspect

of Christ's deed which is more widely attested in the New Testament" than the sacrificial aspect, i.e. as an act of self-offering on our behalf (cf. p. 90).

Dr. Taylor applies in his exegetical work "the principles of textual, literary, and historical criticism" (p. v) and affirms that "the use of these methods is by no means inconsistent with the belief that Scripture is the medium of divine revelation" (p. v). The way in which Dr. Taylor carries on his investigations shows the highest scholarship and the ability to bring out the important and decisive issues. Thus the book is at the same time scholarly and easily understandable.

One of Dr. Taylor's basic presuppositions is the unity of New Testament teaching (cf. pp. v–vi and 58). From this standpoint the distinctive motifs of St. Paul, St. John and the Epistle to the Hebrews are seen as elements which supplement each other, thus exhibiting "the true unity of New Testament teaching" (p. 58). This position, presently not undebated, enables Dr. Taylor to set forth his own interpretation which draws from the different motifs of New Testament teaching and carefully balances the various dominant elements against each other. Dr. Taylor reminds us that "the Church has never defined the work of Christ as she has done in the case of His person" (p. 101).

Dr. Taylor's interpretation of the New Testament evidence as well as his own view are to be recommended highly, especially to the preacher to whom it will prove of great value, both as an illumination in his sermon preparation and as a help in clarification of his own theological standpoint.

The book is well edited; the index of Scripture quotations is a valuable help. On p. 4 read Wittenberg and on p. 8 "Christus und die Zeit."

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A Handbook of the Gospels. By G. P. GILMOUR. Hamilton: McMaster University, 1956. Pp. iv, 127. Available from the McMaster bookstore at $1.75.

A LECTURE has been defined as the means whereby information is transferred from the lecturer's notebook to that of the student without passing through the brain of either. In his lectures on the Gospels, delivered to freshmen at McMaster University, President Gilmour has sought to refute this definition by providing the class with ready-made notes, and has now made these notes available to a wider public in book form. It is not easy either to lecture to freshmen on a religious theme or to write for them, and these notes strongly suggest that President Gilmour's lectures are unusually effective.

The notes are of four kinds. There are preliminary essays on such subjects

as the nature of the biblical revelation and the adequacy of religious language. There is a considerable amount of compressed background information. There are extended discussions of peripheral subjects on which the lecturer felt obliged to say something but which he was reluctant to introduce into the lectures themselves. There is a good bibliography at the end of every chapter.

The inclusion of the third item gives the book a somewhat lopsided character; for more space is allotted to the subsidiary than to the essential. Eight pages are devoted to the birth of Jesus, but the kingdom of God is mentioned only in passing. The section on the teaching of Jesus deals more with the formal characteristics of the teaching than with its content. Among the miracles of Jesus three—the Gadarene demoniac, the coin in the fish's mouth, and the barren fig tree—are singled out for detailed treatment. In order to have the balance restored we should have to hear the lectures, which no doubt deal fully with those central matters which are lightly touched on in the "notes."

This book is designed primarily for President Gilmour's own freshman class, but it deserves wider circulation. No man can write another man's lecture notes, but anyone who has to lecture about the Gospels to Arts students will find this book a useful guide and a useful tool to put into the hands of his students.

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The Idea of Revelation in Recent Thought. By John Baillie. New York: Columbia University Press (Toronto: Oxford Univ. Press), 1956. Pp. viii, 151. $3.25.

Distinguished by Dr. Baillie's talent for the apt phrase and the apt quotation, this little book of just over 150 pages provides an excellent introduction to one of the basic theological discussions of our day.

Beginning with the departure from the earlier, traditional idea of Revelation as the communication of a "body of information," Dr. Baillie observes "a remarkable breadth of agreement" in recent discussions of the subject. There is agreement that what is revealed is God Himself, not propositions about God, agreement that God reveals Himself in action, invading human history, and further agreement that while we are thus confronted by significant events, there must be minds illumined to interpret these events. "The concept of inspiration is thus the necessary counterpart of the concept of revelation."

One of the merits of the book is the way in which Dr. Baillie exhibits this substantial consent. At the same time he has an eye for subtle but significant differences of opinion and the need for further analysis, more particularly

perhaps when he comes to the question whether the *whole* of history is to be regarded as revelatory in character. Stating his own conclusions as he ranges the opinion of Archbishop Temple alongside those of Professor Bowman, Dr. Tillich and others, Dr. Baillie proceeds to discuss the nature of personal faith, which is the human response to Divine Revelation, and it is here especially perhaps that his "extended review" becomes what he calls an "independent essay."

Not all that is modern is novel, and from time to time Dr. Baillie recalls how earlier writers have anticipated what is said today—"foreshadowings" which give added interest to his review. Among these are John Flavel of Dartmouth, "one of the best of the English Puritans," anticipating Dr. C. H. Dodd on the intellectual aspect of faith; Wilhelm Hermann of Marburg anticipating Archbishop Temple on the content of Revelation; Dr. Farmer of Cambridge saying, sixteen years earlier, what Dr. Paul Tillich has said more recently about revelation and the course of nature and history; and Frederick Denison Maurice who, in the nineteenth century, "saw through the assumption that revelation consists in guaranteed doctrines," thus anticipating Brunner and others today.

Writing as one convinced that, in our own century, "a new and better understanding of the meaning of revelation is beginning to emerge," Dr. Baillie is critical of those who might be thought to be putting the clock back. Hence, perhaps, his criticism of Dr. Austin Farrer's theory "that while the primary revelation is Jesus Christ Himself, divine truth is supernaturally communicated to men in an act of inspired thinking which falls into the shape of certain images." By substituting "tremendous images" for propositional statements, Dr. Farrer, it is suggested, hopes to reduce the element of fallible, human interpretation but Dr. Baillie asks why the imagination should be regarded as less fallible than the intellect. Bringing Temple up to date, as against Farrer, Baillie affirms that what is offered in any specific revelation is "not images pointing to God, but the living God Himself." Hence, too, his criticism of Father Thornton's recent argument that "scripture as a whole is the Whole with which Revelation is to be identified." Quoting Dr. Temple again, Dr. Baillie insists that it is one thing to say that the Divine and human elements in the Bible are mingled; it is another thing to say, as Father Thornton seems to say, that they cannot be distinguished or disengaged.

Considering the wealth of quotation and the value of many of the comments, it is a pity that the book lacks an index.

R. H. L. Slater

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